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AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, ~~NEW YORK~~  
NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 116

# ASPECTS OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

By MICHAEL GRANT



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# NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number* 116

**NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS**  
is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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# ASPECTS OF THE PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

HISTORICAL COMMENTS ON THE  
COLONIAL COINAGE ISSUED  
OUTSIDE SPAIN

By MICHAEL GRANT



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
NEW YORK  
1950

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**DEDICATED  
TO  
MY FATHER  
COLONEL MAURICE HAROLD GRANT**





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## PREFACE

**P**ROBLEMS concerning the principate of Tiberius have received much attention during the last hundred years,<sup>1</sup> and not least during the decade now ending.<sup>2</sup> The studies undertaken recently have brought a number of these problems appreciably nearer to solution. But at the same time these studies have underlined the need for a general survey of the reign, which will be cognisant of all the material that has now been collected and studied—and of other material which has not yet received this attention.

The present work is far from being designed to provide any such comprehensive survey. Instead its modest aim is to set out, and discuss, certain numismatic evidence which the writer of such an eventual survey should take into consideration. For any serious estimate of this principate will need to devote some attention (however cursory) to all the main branches of contemporary coinage. Our principal literary authorities for the period, Tacitus,<sup>3</sup> Suetonius<sup>4</sup> and Dio Cassius,<sup>5</sup> wrote nearly a century—in the last instance two centuries—after the rule of Tiberius. They saw him through a thick haze of prejudices and misconceptions.<sup>6</sup> As regards this peri-

<sup>1</sup> Good bibliographies, though not up to date as regards continental literature, are given by Smith, pp. 257 ff., and (supplementing it) Scramuzza, *AJP*, 1944, pp. 404 ff.; that of Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 960 ff., is excellent for the years before 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Important studies during this period are those of Pippidi, *AT* (some of this, like most of *RCI*, was first published somewhat earlier); Kornemann, parts of *GFA* and *GR*; Smith; and Rogers (see Abbreviations).

<sup>3</sup> Among many recent studies see H. Drexler, *Tacitus: Grundzüge einer politischen Pathologie, Auf dem Wege zum Nationalpolitischen Gymnasium*, 1939, Heft 8; E. Ciaceri, *Tacito (I grandi Italiani, iii)*, 1945; W. Theiler, *Tacitus und die Antike Schicksalslehre (Phyllobolia für P. von der Mühl)*, 1945—all reviewed by A. Momigliano, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 225 f.—and especially D. M. Pippidi, *Tacite et Tibère, ED*, 1938 = *AT*, pp. 11 ff., reviewed by Balsdon, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 168 ff. Pippidi's work has a good bibliography, as has Koestermann, *Bursians Jahresbericht*, 1943, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A recent study of his Tiberius (concentrating on the years before A.D. 14) is that of M. J. Du Four (see Abbreviations).

<sup>5</sup> See Andersen, *Dio Cassius und die Begründung des Prinzipats, Neue Deutsche Forschungen, CXCVI*, 1938; Snyder, *Klio*, 1940, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This is one of the very few points on which the present writer perhaps diverges from the masterly study of Tiberius by Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 607 ff. (Ch. XIX), who describes Tacitus in more favourable terms (but see p. 128 n. 277).

od at least, they owe their reputation as primary sources of information to the accident that contemporary histories, other than that of the useful but second-rate Velleius,<sup>7</sup> have not survived. We are a little better off as regards the visual arts under Tiberius; but difficulties of chronology make the evidence of sculpture and cameos so enigmatic that it is of limited value for historical purposes. The same applies, in some degree, to the Tiberian inscriptions (cf. papyri) that have come down to us. They are relatively abundant, but fragmentary and fortuitous; and just as the case against Tiberius is presented by writers too late to be reliable, so too there is no counterpart of the Monumentum Ancyranum to present the case on his behalf.

But in addition to these categories of information there are the coins. A great many coins were issued during the principate of Tiberius; and all of them deserve examination, for they may perhaps fill some of the numerous gaps left by our information from other sources. Their types cannot be expected to tell us how things really were, but they will at least tell us how the princeps and his government, and the cities of the empire, wanted them to seem; and evidence of this kind is particularly necessary for a period regarding which the literary tradition is, as here, predominantly unfriendly.

However, the task of extorting information from the coins of Tiberius is a long one. They are various but often uncommon—laconic and conventional, but complicated and obscure.<sup>8</sup> Each subdivision of them will need separate treatment before a synthesis can be attempted. In Roman Anniversary Issues (Chapter III), I have tried to indicate certain features of his official mintages.<sup>9</sup> Sec-

<sup>7</sup> For his greater utility than has usually been believed, see Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 67, n. 2; for his aim, cf. W. John, *Hermes*, 1943, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sutherland, *Numismatic Review*, II, 1944, pp. 9 f., *AJP*, 1947, p. 57, *JRS*, 1938, p. 129. Compare the utterances of Tiberius himself (*Tac., Ann.*, I, 11): *suspensa semper et obscura verba*; cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> For an attempted definition of this category, considered to include issues such as those of Alexandria, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Antioch, etc. (where no city ethnic appears), see *FITA*, p. 1 and n. 1.

only, as regards the coinage of peregrine cities during the same period, I have made some tentative and preliminary observations in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. But fundamental treatment of these two subjects is needed; and it will not be attempted here.

The third main category of coinage comprises the issues of Roman cities, *oppida civium Romanorum*. They are divided by status into *coloniae* and *municipia*. If, however, we classify these cities by geography rather than status, they again fall into two divisions—the mintages of Spain and those outside Spain. These two divisions are differentiated not only by geographical location but also by the following further characteristics. First, the Spanish division provides, at this period, as many mints as the whole of the non-Spanish division. Secondly, the Spanish coinages are mostly common or at least not very rare, whereas the non-Spanish issues are almost without exception of the greatest rarity. Thirdly, a beginning, and more than a beginning, has been made with the publication and analysis of the Spanish issues. Comparatively full lists of this series have been published,<sup>10</sup> and some of this material has been correlated with historical data from other sources. It would be imprudent to try to carry this subject much further until the publication, now planned, of the British Museum and the Hispanic Society of America collections. A contrast to this activity is presented by Roman cities outside Spain. For as regards the coinage at these cities—with a very few exceptions (e.g. Corinth)—no such services have been performed in recent times; much less has any attempt been made to consider more than one mint in conjunction. These, therefore, rather than the Spanish issues, have been selected as the subject of the present work. Or rather, I have chosen, not the non-Spanish *oppida civium Romanorum* as a whole, but the non-Spanish *coloniae* only;<sup>11</sup> for very few *municipia* outside the Peninsula

<sup>10</sup> E.g. by Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*; Delgado, *Medallas autónomas de España*; Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda Hispánica*; and (for a large part of the field) Hill, *The Coinage of Hispania Tarraconensis*, *NNM*, 50, 1931.

<sup>11</sup> I.e., the *coloniae civium Romanorum*. For some comments on the peregrine *coloniae Latinae* see Appendix 5.

(Utica—and—perhaps also Tingis) coined at this time, and it has seemed better, at this stage, to relegate their peculiar problems, like others which exist on the periphery of my subject, to a brief Appendix.<sup>12</sup>

This work begins (Chapter I) with a list and discussion of all the non-Spanish colonial coinages that I attribute to the principate of Tiberius. Both list and discussion are, in the present state of knowledge, included with considerable diffidence,<sup>13</sup> and largely in the hope of inviting additions and corrections. The remaining two chapters look, through the eyes of the colonies, towards Rome. Chapter II deals with the person of Tiberius, with the friends to whom he and his government gave authority, and with the “Virtues” or principles officially favoured by that government. Chapter III is concerned with his Julio-Claudian seniors and juniors, dead and alive, and especially with Livia. Such conclusions as are reached are summed up in a brief recapitulatory section.

I have tried to co-ordinate the non-Spanish colonial coinages with a small selection of the other historical evidence—numismatic, epigraphic and literary. In pursuit of this aim I have sometimes, as for example in dealing with the imperial auspices, allowed myself to use the colonial issues as the text for a discussion instead of merely endeavouring to draw inferences from the information that they provide. The various categories of evidence are inextricably inter-related, and cannot be very fruitful from a historian’s point of view if each is only looked at separately. Indeed, if this is true as between the various main categories of evidence such as numismatics,<sup>14</sup> literature, epigraphy, etc., it is equally true within the single but complex field of numismatics. Thus, for instance, the Spanish aes coinage of Tiberius, though not forming part of the subject-matter

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>13</sup> Some doubtful cases are discussed in Appendix 1.

<sup>14</sup> This need for combining numismatics with other sciences is stressed by A. von Loehr, *Führer durch die kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXX, 1944, pp. 7 ff.; but see Instinsky, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, I, 1947, p. 81, in a somewhat contrary sense.

*of this work, is—as it needs to be—frequently quoted for purposes of comparison and illustration (see Index 2).*

*The addresses appearing below this Preface bear witness to the first obligations which it is my agreeable task to record. For I have to express to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, my profound gratitude for the special facilities which they have granted me for the continuation, after interruption owing to the war, of my Research Fellowship. I am also very grateful to them, and to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, for defraying the costs of preparing the present study. I am indebted to a number of museums, and to the authorities in charge of them and of their coin-departments, who have allowed me to study their collections and have contributed the casts of which, photographed by the Chiswick Press, illustrations appear in this monograph; and I also owe an acknowledgment to private collectors. I am obliged to Messrs. Johnson, Matthey and Co., Ltd., and to Mr. D. M. Smith of their staff, for undertaking a series of spectrographic analyses (see Appendix 3).*

*I desire also to extend my sincere thanks to the publishers of this study; and I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Professor A. R. Bellinger for reading it most carefully and offering many invaluable comments.*

MICHAEL GRANT  
August, 1948; and  
January, 1950

Cambridge, England; and  
Edinburgh, Scotland





## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abh. Leipzig</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité Classique.</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (Appendix of <i>Revue Archéologique</i> , or separate).
<i>AEA</i>	<i>Archivo Español de Arqueología.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology.</i>
<i>ARW</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</i>
<i>Ath. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Augustus, Studi in Occasione del Bimillenario Augusteo, Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1938.</i>
<i>AVAO</i>	<i>Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi i Oslo, Hist.-Filos. Kl.</i>
<i>BAF</i>	<i>Bulletin des Antiquaires de France.</i>
<i>Balsdon</i>	J. P. V. D. Balsdon, <i>The Emperor Gaius</i> , Oxford, 1934.
<i>BIDR</i>	<i>Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano.</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogues</i> , London.
<i>BMC. Imp.</i>	H. Mattingly, <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , London, 1923—.
<i>Bosch</i>	C. Bosch, <i>Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , II, 1, Stuttgart, 1935.
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
<i>Caley</i>	E. R. Caley, <i>The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins</i> ( <i>Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society</i> , XI), Philadelphia, 1939.
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Boeckh).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1870—.
<i>Cohen</i>	H. Cohen, <i>Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain</i> , second edition, Paris, 1880-1892.
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review.</i>

<b>CRAI</b>	<i>Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i>
<b>De Laet</b>	S. J. de Laet, <i>De Samenstelling van den Romeinschen Senaat gedurende de Eerste Eeuw van het Principaat (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 92<sup>e</sup> Aflevering)</i> , Gent, 1941.
<b>Diss:</b>	Dissertation.
<b>Du Four</b>	M. J. Du Four, <i>C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Tiberii</i> , Chs. I-XXIII, Diss: Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1941.
<b>ED</b>	<i>Ephemeris Dacorumana.</i>
<b>Ehrenberg</b>	V. Ehrenberg, <i>Aspects of the Ancient World</i> , Oxford, 1946.
<b>ESAR</b>	<i>An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> (ed. Tenney Frank), Baltimore, 1933—.
<b>FITA</b>	M. Grant, <i>From Imperium to Auctoritas</i> , Cambridge (England), 1946.
<b>Gaebler</b>	H. Gaebler, <i>Die Antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands</i> , III, 2, Berlin, 1906.
<b>Garrucci</b>	R. Garrucci, <i>Le Monete dell'Italia antica</i> , Rome, 1885.
<b>Greenidge</b>	A. H. J. Greenidge, <i>Roman Public Life</i> , London, 1901.
<b>Grose</b>	S. W. Grose, <i>Catalogue of the McClean Collection</i> , Cambridge (England).
<b>Hägerström</b>	A. Hägerström, <i>Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift</i> , 1929, <i>Jur. Fak. Minneskrift</i> , VIII.
<b>Hammond</b>	M. Hammond, <i>The Augustan Principate</i> , Cambridge (Mass.), 1933.
<b>Head</b>	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum</i> , second edition, Oxford, 1911.
<b>HTR</b>	<i>Harvard Theological Review.</i>
<b>IG</b>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
<b>IGRR</b>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , Paris, 1911-1927.
<b>ILS</b>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin, 1892-1916.
<b>Imhoof-Blumer, GM</b>	F. Imhoof-Blumer, <i>Griechische Münzen, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abt.</i> , 18, Munich, 1890.

## Abbreviations

xv

<b>Id., KM</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Kleinasiatische Münzen, Sonderschrift des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i> , Vienna, 1901-1902.
<b>Id., LS</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Lydische Stadtmünzen</i> (from <i>Revue Suisse de Numismatique</i> , 1897).
<b>Id., MG</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Monnaies Grecques</i> , Paris, 1883.
<b>JAIW</b>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<b>JIAN</b>	<i>Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique.</i>
<b>JRS</b>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>
<b>JS</b>	<i>Journal des Savants.</i>
<b>Kornemann, DR</b>	<b>E. Kornemann,</b> <i>Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum</i> , Leipzig-Berlin, 1930.
<b>Id., GFA</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Grosse Frauen des Altertums</i> , Leipzig, 1942.
<b>Id., GR</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Gestalten und Reiche</i> , Leipzig, 1943.
<b>Id., RG</b>	<b>Id.,</b> <i>Römische Geschichte</i> , Stuttgart, 1938-1939.
<b>Macdonald</b>	<b>G. Macdonald,</b> <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection</i> , Glasgow, 1899-1905.
<b>Magdelain</b>	<b>A. Magdelain,</b> <i>Auctoritas Principis</i> , Paris, 1947.
<b>MAH</b>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome.</i>
<b>Marsh</b>	<b>F. B. Marsh,</b> <i>The Reign of Tiberius</i> , second edition, Oxford, 1927.
<b>Mattingly, RC</b>	<b>H. Mattingly,</b> <i>Roman Coins</i> , London, 1928 (see also <i>BMC. Imp.</i> and <i>RIC</i> ).
<b>Mionnet</b>	<b>T. E. Mionnet,</b> <i>Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romains</i> , Paris, 1807-1837.
<b>MKAU</b>	<i>Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett.</i>
<b>Mommsen, St. R.<sup>s</sup></b>	<b>Th. Mommsen,</b> <i>Das Römische Staatsrecht</i> , third edition of Vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1887.
<b>Müller</b>	<b>L. Müller in Falbe, Lindberg &amp; Müller's</b> <i>Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique</i> , Copenhagen, 1860-1874.
<b>NC</b>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
<b>Newby</b>	<b>J. D. Newby,</b> <i>Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus</i> , Iowa, 1938.
<b>Nicodemi</b>	<b>G. Nicodemi,</b> <i>Catalogo delle Raccolte Numismatiche del Castello Sforzesco</i> , Milan, 1939.

<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs.</i>
<i>NS</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.</i>
<i>NZ</i>	<i>Numismatische Zeitschrift.</i>
Pippidi, <i>AT</i>	D. M. Pippidi, <i>Autour de Tibère</i> , Bucharest, 1944.
Id., <i>RCI</i>	Id., <i>Recherches sur le Culte Impérial</i> , Bucharest, 1940.
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> (Klebs-Dessau) Berlin, 1897—, second ed. (Groag-Stein), Berlin-Leipzig, 1933—.
von Premerstein	A. von Premerstein, <i>Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats, Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abt., NF. 15</i> , München, 1937.
<i>QA</i>	<i>Quaderni Augustei</i> , Rome, 1937—.
<i>QAS</i>	<i>Quaderni Augustei, Studi Stranieri</i> , Rome, 1937—.
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique.</i>
<i>RAI</i>	M. Grant, <i>Roman Anniversary Issues</i> , Cambridge (England), 1950.
Ramsay, <i>SBRP</i>	W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor</i> , Aberdeen, 1941.
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique.</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>Revista Clasică.</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Ziegler), Stuttgart, 1894—.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes.</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des Études Latines.</i>
<i>RG</i>	<i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti.</i>
<i>RGMG</i>	Waddington, Babelon and Reinach, <i>Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure</i> , Paris, 1904—.
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Historique.</i>
<i>RHSE</i>	<i>Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen.</i>
<i>RIC</i>	H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham (also C. H. V. Sutherland and P. H. Webb), <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London, 1923—.
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique Française.</i>
Rogers	R. S. Rogers, <i>Studies in the Reign of Tiberius</i> , Baltimore, 1943.

## Abbreviations

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<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.</i>
Rostovtzeff, SEH	M. Rostovtzeff, <i>The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire</i> , Oxford, 1926.
Id., SES	Id., <i>Storia Economica e Sociale dell'Impero Romano</i> , Florence, 1933.
RPAA	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.</i>
RPh.	<i>Revue de Philologie.</i>
RRIL	<i>Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere.</i>
RS	<i>Revue Suisse de Numismatique (Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau).</i>
Sav. Z.	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung.</i>
SB München	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Wien	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philos.-hist. Kl.</i>
Scramuzza, EC	V. M. Scramuzza, <i>The Emperor Claudius (Harvard Historical Studies XLIV)</i> , Cambridge (Mass.), 1940.
Smith	C. E. Smith, <i>Tiberius and the Roman Empire</i> , Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1942.
SMSR	<i>Studi e Materiali della Storia di Religioni.</i>
SNGC	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i> , National Museum, Copenhagen, 1942—.
Sutherland, RIS	C. H. V. Sutherland, <i>The Romans in Spain</i> , London, 1939.
Svoronos	Svoronos, <i>Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne</i> , I, Macon, 1890.
SWC	M. Grant, <i>19 B.C.: A Step Towards World Coinage</i> (in press, Princeton, N. J.).
Syme, RR	R. Syme, <i>The Roman Revolution</i> , Oxford, 1939.
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association.</i>
Taylor, DRE	L. R. Taylor, <i>The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, I)</i> , Middletown, Conn., 1931.

Vives	A. Vives y Escudero, <i>La Moneda Hispánica</i> , Madrid, 1924-1926.
Wagenvoort	H. Wagenvoort, <i>Roman Dynamism</i> , Oxford, 1947.
Weber	W. Weber, <i>Princeps</i> , I, Stuttgart, 1936.
Willrich	H. Willrich, <i>Livia</i> , Leipzig-Berlin, 1911.
Wissowa, <i>RKR</i> <sup>2</sup>	L. Wissowa, <i>Die Religion und Kultus der Römer</i> , second edition, Munich, 1912 (in I. van Müller's <i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft</i> ).
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i> .
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i> .

## CHAPTER I

### THE COINS AND THE COLONIES

#### (i) Description of the Coinage<sup>1</sup>

##### A. WESTERN EUROPE

###### PAESTUM<sup>2</sup>

###### 1. Laureate head to right, *lituus*.

*Rev.* Q OCTAVIVS M·EGNATIVS IIVIR·PAE·S·S·C· in oak(?) -wreath.

Berlin (PLATE I, 1), Copenhagen, writer's collection.

*SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1381. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 16, quotes a variant with head to left and M· EGNATIVS Q· OCTAVI[VS IIVIR] PAES· (sic) S·S·C· For the probable date of these pieces (early Tiberius), see *FITA*, p. 287, n. 8. The coins of Q. Octavius and M. Egnatius, though too poorly preserved for any confident conclusions to be drawn from them, seem to differ from other issues of Paestum ascribed to Tiberius by showing a number of portraits reminiscent of the last years of Augustus, as well as others with the Tiberian cast of countenance that is more frequent at this mint. As is pointed out in *FITA*, loc. cit., cf. pp. 328, 463, a very large number of portraits of late Augustan type on local coinages are demonstrably posthumous; and the same may apply to these, though this cannot be regarded as certain.

<sup>1</sup> For doubtful pieces see Appendix 1. The discussions added to descriptions in this section are only concerned with the actual attribution of the coins to mints or principates, or with the status of the minting city. For the omission of Spain, see p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> For the status of Paestum as an Augustan colony see *FITA*, pp. 201 f., 286 f., cf. Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 123. Inscriptions with *municipium* and *muncipe* (Marzullo, *Atti della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze*, V, 1932, *Estratto*, p. 17) seem too late to support Duval's view (*RA*, XXI, 1944, p. 171) of a Sullan colony.



2. Laureate head to left, *lituus*.

Rev. Q· OCT· M· EGN· IIVIR·S·P·S·[C·] in oak (?) -wreath.

Naples (PLATE I, 2), Paris, Copenhagen.

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 18; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1382. A London piece has head to right. Vienna and Paris examples (PLATE I, 3) have M· EGN· Q· OCT· IIVIR· P·S·S·[C·] in wreath.

## 3. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. L· LICINIVS IIVIR. Victory standing or walking to right, holding laurel-wreath and palm.

Copenhagen (PLATE I, 4), London, Berlin.

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 21; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1386. The portraits on these pieces and on all Paestan issues described hereunder are unmistakably Tiberian.

4. Bare head to right, *lituus*.

Rev. C· LOLLI·M·DOI· (sic) IIVIRI P·S·S·C·. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE I, 5), Cambridge, Copenhagen.

*BMC, Italy*, p. 282, no. 78; Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1155; *SNGC, Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1383. Erroneously described by Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 17.

5. Bare head to right, *lituus*.

Rev. C· LOLLI·M·DOI·IIVIRI ITER· P·S·S·C·. Diana standing facing, wearing short tunic, carrying bow, and carrying or leaning on spear.

London (PLATE I, 6), Cambridge, Munich.

*BMC, Italy*, p. 282, no. 80; Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1158; Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 20; Boutkowski, *Dictionnaire Numismatique*, I, p. 74, no. 179 bis, II, p. 1578, no. 2635.

## 6. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. A· VERGILI·OPT·IIVIR. Mars standing to left, helmeted, naked except for cloak hanging over left arm, holding *hasta* (?) and *parazonium*.

Vienna (PLATE I, 7), London. A Cambridge specimen (PLATE I, 10) also seems to represent this type.

Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1159. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 22, misdescribes. Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 23: S·C·P·S. Copenhagen (SNGC, *Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1384): S·S·C·P·; this piece shows clearly that the shaft carried by Mars is that of a *hasta* or sceptre and not a *vexillum*. But on a variant at Vienna with [P·S·]S·C· (PLATE I, 8) Mars is carrying a *vexillum* instead. A Paris piece (PLATE I, 9) shows the latter variation, a pedestal under the figure of Mars and on the obverse S·P·C·S· and laureate head to left.

7. P·S·S·[C·] laureate head to right.

Rev. L·CAEL·CLEM·FLA·TI·CAESAR. *Apex*.

London (PLATE I, 11).

Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 24; Mattingly, RC, Plate XLVIII, 4.

8. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. L·CAEL·FLA·TI·AVG·TI· CAESAR IIVIR. Victory in *biga* of horses galloping to left; above horses' heads, *apex*.

Paris (PLATE I, 12); Copenhagen (PLATE I, 13); Cambridge (PLATE I, 14); Berlin, Vienna.

Grose, I, p. 147, no. 1162; SNGC, *Italy*, III, Plate 27, no. 1385, give incomplete descriptions. The full legend (in which there may be minor variations) is restored with difficulty from the specimens at Berlin (. . . . TI·AVG·TI·CAESA . . . .) and Cambridge (. . CAEL·FLA . . . TI·CAE . . . IIVIR). The latter however (Grose, loc. cit.) may read FLA·AVG· instead of FLA·TI·AVG·; and so may the Copenhagen example.

9. P·S·S·C· laureate head to right.

Rev. C·FADI·L(?) . . . . . AR(?) same type as last.

Berlin, Naples.

This is the most that can at present be made of nos. 282 and 2748 in the Berlin and Naples collections respectively. They were noted by the present writer on earlier visits to those cabinets, but it has now been impossible to obtain casts or illustrations of either coin, since the two collections are not *in situ*. The description given above is conjectural. It is doubtful whether a piece quoted by Garrucci, Plate CXXIII, 24, "L·IVL·

FEL·FLA·TI·CAESAR·AVG·, *quadriga* [sic] to left" (stated to be at Naples), has any separate existence. The same doubt was evidently felt by Muensterberg, whose manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his *Römische Beamtennamen* (NZ, 1911, p. 81), shown to the present writer by the kindness of Dr. Pink, ascribes to "Naples 2748" both Garrucci's no. 25 and another legend which he reads as L·CAEL·FLA . . . L·FAD·IIVIR. It is hazardous to attempt to restore the legend, but it is just possible that a C. Fadius, instead of partnering L. Cael. *Fla. Aug.*, preceded or succeeded him as colleague of Ti. Caesar *Iivir*. No. 284 in the Berlin collection is another mysterious piece but too ill-preserved to be of much assistance; it may conceivably show the name of Fadius with a different type.<sup>3</sup>

#### PANORMUS

10. P·F·SILVA·PR· olive (?) -branch.

Rev. SALASI·LVCI·II· *triskeles*.

London (PLATE I, 15), Berlin, Naples.

Not in *BMC, Sicily*. Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 37, corrects the F· on the obverse from the P· rendered by Klein, *Die römischen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 90. For the suggested attribution to Panormus, see *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6. A somewhat similar piece bearing the name of L. Seius *procos* is attributed to Haluntium, *FITA*, p. 199. It is unlikely that both pieces are of the same mint, since the various *aes* pieces with names of proconsuls (for PR·, as here, for PR[*aetor*] or PR[*oconsule*], see *FITA*, pp. 35, 61) all appear to be foundation issues of different colonies and *municipia* (ibid., p. 198). It is not impossible that the coin of P. F. Silva is of Haluntium and that of L. Seius of Panormus (instead of *vice versa*), but the former's resemblance to a peregrine issue of Panormus (ibid., p. 197, n. 6; cf. Bahrfeldt, *RS*, 1904, Plate IV, 92, 93) has made the present attribution seem preferable.

For the attribution of these pieces to a late Augustan or Tiberian date see *FITA*, loc. cit., against Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III (1943), p. 94, no. 2, etc.; cf. also a close resemblance in general composition (though not necessarily in style) to Roman *quadrantes* attributed by the present writer to A.D. c. 10-14 (this is briefly suggested in *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii; but the detailed demonstration still remains to be undertaken), and to small coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus* of Syria A.D.

<sup>3</sup> For the *duoviri* L. Sui. M. Nun. see Appendix 1.

c. 12-17 (*FITA*, p. 127, nn. 16 ff.; wrongly given as A.D. 12-15 on p. 396; de Laet, p. 241, gives 11-17). Haluntium was perhaps established as a *municipium* not long before the death of Augustus (*FITA*, p. 199, n. 6), and it has been suggested on historical grounds that Panormus may have become a *colonia civium Romanorum* after the accession of Tiberius (*FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6). It cannot, however, be considered certain that the present issue belongs to the reign of Tiberius, but it is included here since the balance of probability seems slightly to favour this interpretation.

11. PANHORMITANORVM radiate head of Augustus to left.

Rev. CN·DO·PROCV·A·LAETOR·IIVIR· capricorn, *triskeles* with winged Gorgon's head, ears of corn or barley.

London (PLATE I, 16), Copenhagen.

*BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 45; *SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate 12, no. 564; Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 37; Klein, *Die römischen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 93; Macdonald, I, p. 212, 42; Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, Plate XIV, 17; Mattingly, *RC*, Plate XLVIII, 5. There are variants of the reverse legend.

12. PANORMITAN. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and corn-ears.

Rev. CN·DOM·A·LA·ram to left.

Glasgow (PLATE I, 17), Munich.

Macdonald, I, p. 212, no. 44. *BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 47 (PLATE I, 18) and perhaps Cambridge (Grose, I, p. 297, no. 2524) have CN·D·, Berlin PANORMITANORVM. The coin is mentioned by Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 208.

13. PANORMITAN. (?) bare head of Tiberius(?) to right.

Rev. AVGVS· veiled head of Livia to right.

Glasgow (PLATE I, 19), London, Munich, Copenhagen.

Macdonald, I, p. 211, no. 41; *BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 44; *SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate 12, nos. 562 and 563. A Vienna specimen has the countermark of a tetrastyle temple. On a Gotha example the head on the obverse seems to be laureate. A variant piece represented in London (*BMC, Sicily*, p. 125, no. 43), Berlin, and perhaps Copenhagen (*SNGC, Sicily*, I, Plate

12, no. 561) had the head of Livia to left (PLATE I, 20). Newby, p. 81, no. 123, reads PANORMITANORVM; on some pieces the abbreviations may vary. Macdonald, loc. cit., implies by his classification that this piece is of Augustan date.

## B. AFRICA

### ACHULLA

14. . . . AESAR AVGV. . . bare head of Tiberius(?) to right.

*Rev.* [? DIVOS] AVG·[ACH]VLLA radiate head of Augustus to left; thunderbolt, star.

Paris (PLATE I, 21).

Not in Müller. Apparently unpublished, at least in recent centuries, except for a passing description (in which the legend and type are incompletely described) in *FITA*, p. 230. The head on the obverse might conceivably be that of Caligula rather than Tiberius. The style resembles that of Augustan pieces of Achulla, e.g. Müller, II, p. 44, 7, 9-10; *FITA*, Plate VII, 29-31. Achulla was "free" before the reorganization of Julius Caesar, and is recorded by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, V, 30) as an *oppidum liberum*. But towns described in this way were often *coloniae civium Romanorum* (*FITA*, p. 226, and n. 7; Zama Regia, Thapsus, Hadrumetum, Hippo Diarrhytus), and there are special reasons for believing the same to be true of Achulla (*FITA*, pp. 230 f.).

### CARTHAGE (?)

15. TI·CAESAR IMP·P·P· bare head of Tiberius to left.

*Rev.* L·A· FAVSTVS D·C·BASSVS IIVIR· P·P·D·D· Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Glasgow (PLATE II, 1), London, Cambridge, Milan.

Müller, II, p. 150, no. 327; Macdonald, III, p. 600, nos. 146 f.; Nicodemi, I, p. 72, 706. For the attribution, Müller, II, p. 154; compare the similar coin of Augustus, *FITA*, p. 231. Variant with head to right, Müller, II, p. 150, no. 328.

16. TI·CAESAR IMP·P·P· bare head of Tiberius to right.

*Rev.* L·A· FAVSTVS D·C· BASSVS IIVIR· P·P·D·D· three corn-ears joined.

London (PLATE II, 2), Hague.

Müller, II, p. 150, no. 329.

17. TI·CAESARI AVGVSTO D·D·COL· bare head of Tiberius to left.

*Rev.* PACE AVG· PERP· altar-precinct (altar-wall with two doors—with no intervening panel—and two horns); all in oak-wreath.

Berlin (PLATE II, 3).

Not in Müller. This is perhaps the specimen quoted by J. Tristan, *Commentaires Historiques*, etc. (Paris, 1644), pp. 164 ff.; A. Occo, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (Milan, 1683), p. 70; A. Morellius, *Thesaurus* (Amsterdam, 1752), I, pp. 592 ff. But De Meyran (Marquis de Lagoy), *Mélanges de Numismatique* (Aix, 1845), p. 2, quotes a specimen shown from his illustration at Plate II, 1, not to be the Berlin piece. Lagoy's coin, if correctly described, has the letter K· after COL· on the obverse. This led him to attribute the coin to Carthago Nova; but stylistic considerations, notably the individual style characteristic of Africa (*FITA*, p. 478), make Carthage far preferable. This exceptional piece looks medalllic; cf. official issues of the same principate which seem to warrant a similar interpretation, *RAI*, Chapter III.

#### HIPPO DIARRHYTUS

18. TI·CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F· AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

*Rev.* HIPNONE above, LIBERA below, IVL· AVG· in field. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE II, 4), Munich.

Müller, II, p. 167, no. 376. For Hippo Diarrhytus as a *colonia Iulia* see *FITA*, pp. 224 f.

19. Same obverse.

*Rev.* DRVSVS CAESAR HIPNONE LIBERA bare head of Drusus junior to right.

Copenhagen (PLATE II, 5), London (PLATE II, 6), Vienna.

Müller, II, p. 167, no. 377.

20. Same obverse legend and head; *lituus* and *simpulum*.

*Rev.* L·APRONIVS HIP[P]ONE LIBERA bare head of L. Apronius, *proconsul*, to right.

Hague (PLATE II, 7), Berlin (PLATE II, 8), Paris.

The reverse head is wrongly attributed to Drusus junior by Müller, II, p. 167, no. 378. For its ascription to the proconsul see *FITA*, p. 229, n. 1. Under Augustus also, the portraits of a number of proconsuls of Africa (as well as of Asia, *FITA*, p. 387) have appeared on the coinage of Roman colonies, including Hippo Diarrhytus (*FITA*, p. 224; cf. Hadrumetum, p. 228; Achulla, p. 230), as well as on what seems to be an official African issue (*FITA*, p. 139). Most of those portraits have, like the present one, been misinterpreted as representing imperial personages; e.g. in the case of Hadrumetum by Cavedoni, *Bullettino archeologico Italiano*, 1862, pp. 171 f.; Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, I, p. 312.

#### THAPSUS

21. TI·CAE·DIVI AVG·F·AVG·IMP·VII· bare head of Tiberius to left.

*Rev.* CERERI AVGVSTAE THAMPSITANI (sic). Ceres Augusta seated to right holding long torch and two corn-ears; *modius* on ground.

London (PLATE II, 9), Tunis, Vatican (?).<sup>4</sup>

Mentioned in *FITA*, p. 225, and n. 14, but otherwise apparently unpublished, at least within the past century.

22. Same legend; bare head of Tiberius to right.

*Rev.* THAPSVM IVN·AVG· veiled head of Juno Augusta (or *iuno Augustae*) to left, apparently with wreath of corn-ears.

London (PLATE III, 1), Hague, Glasgow, Milan.

Müller, II, p. 47, no. 12; Macdonald, III, p. 583, no. 1; Nicodemi, I, p. 72, no. 707; cf. *FITA*, p. 225, and n. 13.

<sup>4</sup> The Curator of the Bardo Museum has kindly written confirming the Tunis specimen. The British Museum has a sulphur cast of a piece stated to be in the Vatican; but, if so, it is presumably there ascribed to another city, since Marchese Serafini writes that there is no such coin ascribed to Thapsus.

23. Same obverse.

*Rev.* THAPSVM IVN·AVG. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Copenhagen (PLATE III, 2).

Müller II, p. 47, no. 13.

24. TI·CAE·DIVI AVG·F·AVG·IMP·VIII·COS·IIII bare head of Tiberius to left.

*Rev.* PERMISSV L·APRONI PROCOS·III·C·SEX·POM·CELSO C·P·I. Mercury wearing *petasus* and holding *caduceus*, seated to left on rock.

Hague (PLATE III, 3), Vienna (PLATE III, 4), Paris.

Misread as PROCOS·IIII by Nicodemi, I, p. 72, no. 708. This and all the following coins here assigned to Thapsus were misattributed to Clypea by Müller, II, p. 155, no. 331. For the ascription to Thapsus see *FITA*, p. 225. It is based on the following considerations. Two coins of Augustus have reverse types and stylistic traits identical to each other and to the present piece of Tiberius. One of these Augustan pieces has the legends AVGVSTVS IMP·—C·I·P·IIII VIR· (Müller, II, p. 155, no. 330, *Supplément*, p. 56), but the other and earlier has CAESAR DIVI F·—COLONIAE IVLIAE and monograms decipherable as THAP and PI (*FITA*, p. 225, and p. 494, no. 8; cf. Merlin, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques*, 1915, p. cxciv), a circumstance which determines the attribution not only of the two Augustan pieces but also of the whole of the present series of Tiberius. For comparable variations or evolutions of ethnics during the early imperial period see coins of Buthrotum (*FITA*, p. 270), Emporiae (*ibid.*, p. 154), Cnossus (*ibid.*, p. 262), Corinth (*ibid.*, p. 266; cf. p. 226 and n. 2).

25. Same obverse.

*Rev.* Same reverse legend. Livia seated to right, veiled, with two corn-ears and sceptre.

Hague (PLATE IV, 2), Milan.

Müller, II, p. 155, no. 332; Nicodemi, I, p. 73.



26. DRVSO CAESARI bare head of Drusus junior to left.

*Rev.* PERMISSV L· APRONI· PROCOS· III· bust of Mercury to left, wearing *paenula* and *petasus*; *caduceus* behind.

Paris (PLATE III, 6), Hague.

Müller, II, p. 155, no. 333. Variant with Mercury's bust to right, now untraceable, quoted *ibid.*, p. 156, no. 334.

27. As no. 24.

*Rev.* PER[MIS· Q· I]VN· BLAESI PROCOS· IT· C· P· GAVIO CASCA C· P· I· as no. 25.

Hague (PLATE III, 7).

Müller's reference to a "retouched" piece of Dolabella at the Hague, without any mention of Blaesus (Müller, II, p. 156, no. 339, and n. 6), probably concerns this specimen; but if so, his doubts, at least as regards the original character of the legend, seem unjustified.

28. As no. 26.

*Rev.* PER . . . . BLAESI PRO . . . . . CA C· P· I· as no. 26.

Hague.

Not in Müller, who wrongly reads here the legend of no. 31 (q.v.). The present description is owed to the kindness of Dr. J. H. Jongkees, of the National Collection at the Hague.<sup>5</sup>

29. As no. 24.

*Rev.* PERMIS· P· CORNELI· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C· P· CAS· D· D· C· P· I· as no. 24.

London (PLATE IV, 1), Berlin.

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 336. Müller also quotes the following variant reverse inscriptions: PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C· P· G· CAS· D· D· C· P· I· (II, p. 156, no. 335: Copenhagen, Paris), PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C· P· GAVIO CAS· (II, p. 156, no. 337).

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps a large piece with the type of no. 24 and the name of Blaesus may one day come to light, to complete a series uniform with those of Apronius and Dolabella.

30. As last.

*Rev.* PERMIS· P· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C·P·G·CAS·C·  
P·I· as no. 25.

London (PLATE III, 5), Paris, Hague, Copenhagen.

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 338.

31. As no. 26.

*Rev.* PERM· DOLABELLAE PROCOS· C·P·G· CAS· as no. 26.

Vienna (PLATE IV, 3).

Müller, II, p. 156, no. 340. For his reference to a Hague example, see above, no. 27.

### C. MACEDONIA

#### CASSANDREA

32. . . . . DIVI(?) . . . . . laureate head of Tiberius(??) to right.

*Rev.* [CO]L·IVL . . . [C]AS· head of Jupiter Ammon to right.

Dresden (PLATE IV, 4), Istanbul.

Apparently unpublished, except for mention in *FITA*, p. 272, n. 6. It is possible that this coin was issued at a later period than the reign of Tiberius.<sup>6</sup> The end of the reverse inscription seems to be blundered.

#### DIUM

33. TI·CAESAR DIVI AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

*Rev.* COLONIA IVL·DIENSIS D·D. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE IV, 5).

Gaebler, p. 60, and Plate XIII, 31; *BMC, Macedon*, etc., p. 71, no. 3; Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 81; *FITA*, p. 278.

#### PELLA

34. TI·CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

<sup>6</sup> Professor A. R. Bellinger considers that the portrait looks Antonine.

*Rev.* C·BAEBIVS P·F·L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ·D·D· in five lines.

Oxford (PLATE IV, 6), London (PLATE IV, 7), Berlin, Milan, Vienna.

As regards this and the following pieces, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 3, *ibid.*, Plate VII, 2, follows the tentative attribution to Dium adopted by Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 74, nos. 59 ff.; Gaebler, p. 60, nos. 3 ff.; Nicodemi, I, p. 74, no. 725; etc. The present writer, in *FITA*, p. 282, has preferred Pella, for the following reasons: (i) style, thickness and fabric; (ii) the reverse composition of the present piece and of nos. 37-39 is strongly reminiscent of Augustan coins (signed by the *quinquennales* M·FICTORI·M·SEPTVMI· and C·HERENNIVS L·TITVCIVS) convincingly assigned to Pella by Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 88, and Gaebler, p. 96; cf. *FITA*, pp. 281 f.; (iii) the type of nos. 36 and 40 below, a very unusual one, is the same as that on further pieces both of Fictorius and Septumius (*FITA*, p. 281) and of Herennius and Titucius (*ibid.*, p. 282 and 284; cf. Gaebler, p. 98, no. 27). A London specimen of no. 34 (PLATE IV, 7) has a countermark; Berlin and Vienna examples are countermarked PEL· (in the two latter cases with the addition of a *theta* or *patera*), and, as is pointed out in *FITA*, p. 282 and n. 11, it is common for such countermarks to comprise the ethnic of the very city where the coins on which they are stamped had been struck (e.g. *FITA*, p. 299, n. 12; cf. p. 246). This phenomenon is found particularly often on the coinage of Tiberius.

A variant of no. 34 (Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 4) reads C·BAEBIO P·F·L·RVSTICELIO BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ·D·D·.

35. D·D· female head to right, with hair knotted behind neck.

*Rev.* C·BAEBIVS P·F·L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA IIVIR·QVINQ· in four lines.

London (PLATE IV, 8).

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 5; *ibid.*, Plate VII, 3. Not in Gaebler.

36. C·BAEBIVS P·F·D·D· cup without handles.

*Rev.* L·RVSTICELIVS BASTERNA *praefericulum* and two *strigiles*.

Berlin, Sofia.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 6; Gaebler, p. 60, no. 3, Plate XIII, 31. The two Sofia specimens were found in Bulgaria.

37. TI·CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS bare head of Tiberius to right.

*Rev.* L·RVSTICELIVS CORDVS II VIR QVINQ·D·D· in six lines in oak-wreath.

Cambridge (PLATE IV, 9), London, Paris.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 74, no. 8; cf. FITA, p. 282. A Paris specimen is countermarked (*theta* or *patera*?). A variant has the reverse legend in five lines: Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, nos. 8 f.; Nicodemi, p. 74, 724. CESAR (sic) for CAESAR: Gaebler, *ZfN*, 1926, p. 134, no. 23.

38. PIETAS bust of Pietas to right, draped, diademed and veiled.

*Rev.* As last but no oak-wreath.

London (PLATE IV, 10), Hague.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, no. 10; *ibid.*, Plate VII, 6; Gaebler, p. 60, 4, Plate XIII, 29.

39. PIETAS AVGVSTA bust of Pietas to right, with diadem ornamented with palmettes.

*Rev.* As last.

Paris, Berlin, Leningrad, Munich, Belgrade.

Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 75, no. 11; Gaebler, p. 61, 5, Plate XIII, 30; *id.*, *ZfN*, 1926, p. 134, 25; *ibid.*, Plate X, 16 (obverse).

40. *Praefericulum* and two *strigiles*.

*Rev.* As last.

Budapest (PLATE IV, 11).

Not in Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, p. 73 ff., or Gaebler, and apparently unpublished.

## D. EPIRUS AND ACHAIA

## DYRRHACHIUM

41. TI·CAE·C·I·A·D· laureate head of Tiberius to right, countermark.

*Rev.* AVG·C·I·A·D· radiate head of Augustus to right.

London (PLATE V, 1), Athens.

Not in any *BMC*. Variants: (obv.) TI·CAE·C·I·A·D·, Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 165, 47; (obv.) TI·CA·C·I·A·D· (*FITA*, Plate VIII, 26) and (rev.) AVGV·, Paris (PLATE V, 3); (obv.) TI·CA·T·I·A·S· (sic), Berlin (PLATE V, 2); (rev.) AVG·P·P·, Vienna. The Athens specimen suggests that the countermark is a prow. These pieces have been attributed to Dium (London; British Museum Cabinet), Dyme (British Museum [also], Paris, Vienna), and even Dertosa (Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, I, p. 47; Hübner, *Monumenta Linguae Ibericae*, p. 38; Newby, p. 83). In *FITA*, p. 278, an endeavour is made to refute these attributions—of which the last-mentioned at least is impracticable on grounds of style—and to group the issue instead with two pieces of Augustus ascribed to Dyrrhachium, which closely resemble it in portraiture. These are: (1) bare head of Augustus to right—CI·VE·TI·TAR·IIVIR· Q D·D· in field (Gotha, London, *FITA*, p. 276; *ibid.*, Plate VIII, 23), (2) CAESAR AVGVSTVS bare head of Augustus to right—plough, and legend conjecturally restored as C(oloniae) V(eneriae) R(estitutori) M·IVS(tulius?) M·HERENNIVS IIVIR(i) QVINQ(uensales) C(oloniae) I(uliae) A(ugustae) D(yrrhachensium): Vatican, *FITA*, pp. 277, 279; *ibid.*, Plate VIII, 24). For Venus as the protectress of Dyrrhachium, see *FITA*, pp. 275, 277. (For the history of the colony, Sestieri, *Epigraphica*, IV, 1942, pp. 127 ff.) Dium was still COLONIA IVLIA DIENSIS (i.e. not yet C·I·A·D·) by the time of Tiberius (see no. 33). At Dyme, on the other hand, the *colonia* had indeed been C·I·A·D· for a short time, but it had then apparently failed during the lifetime of Augustus, who had allotted its lands to his new foundation at Patrae (Pausanias, VII, 17; cf. Dorsch, *De Civitatis Romanae apud Graecos Propagatione*, Diss: Breslau, 1886, p. 19; *FITA*, p. 265).

## CORINTH

42. L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR· radiate head of Augustus to left.

Rev. L·FVRIO LABEONE IIVIR·COR· hexastyle temple inscribed GENT·IVLI.

London, Paris.

Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 19, no. 40; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 25; *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 520; Nicodemi, I, p. 55, 551. Edwards and *BMC* wrongly describe the head as Tiberius. Variant with names of *duoviri* reversed, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 522 (PLATE V, 4); ditto, with name of Peregrinus in nominative, Paris cf. Earle Fox, loc. cit. For the foundation of the colony shortly before or after the death of Julius see *FITA*, p. 266.

43. Legends as no. 42. Draped bust of Livia to left with hair knotted behind neck.

Rev. As last.

Copenhagen, London.

*BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 515; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 26. Variant with bust to right, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 514 (PLATE V, 6); Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 41. With bust to left and names of *duoviri* reversed, Copenhagen (PLATE V, 5), London, Earle Fox, loc. cit.

44. Same legends as no. 42. Laureate head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. As last.

London (PLATE V, 7), Copenhagen, Cambridge.

*BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 518; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 43; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 28. Variants with names of *duoviri* reversed, *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 521, and with L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR· on both sides, Earle Fox, loc. cit. (his own collection).

45. L·FVRIO LABEONE IIVIR· bust of Livia to right, veiled, with *stephane*.

Rev. L·ARRIO PEREGRINO IIVIR·COR· hexastyle temple inscribed GENT·IVLI.

Cambridge (PLATE V, 8), London.

*BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 63, no. 517; Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 42; Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 104, no. 27.

46. P· CANINIO AGRIPPA IIVIR· QVINQ· bare head of Drusus junior(?) to right.

Rev. L· CASTRICIO REGVLO IIVIR· QVIN· COR. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE V, 9).

Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 44, cf. pp. 6 f. (attributing to A.D. 22-23 and—following Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 105, no. 29, and Muensterberg, *NZ*, 1911, p. 121—to Drusus, whose coin-portraits this resembles), *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 64, no. 523, cf. Neumann, *De Quinquennialibus Coloniæ et Municipiorum*, Diss: Leipzig, 1892, pp. 37 f. Also with names of *duoviri* reversed, Earle Fox, loc. cit. (his collection). With P· CANINIO AGRIPPA IIVIR· QVINQ· on both sides, *ibid.* (Paris), cf. Muensterberg, loc. cit.: in a manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his work Muensterberg added a query and an exclamation mark to this restoration of the reverse legend, but such a repetition of the name of a single *duovir* is paralleled on the coins of at least two other colleges, cf. Earle Fox, op. cit., p. 94.

47. Busts of two youths facing each other.

Rev. COR. Pegasus flying to right.

London, Milan.

The busts are identified as Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, by Nicodemi, I, p. 34, n.; cf. *FITA*, p. 268, n. 13; *ibid.*, Plate IX, 13. *BMC, Corinth*, etc., p. 62, no. 508, attributes the heads to Gaius and Lucius. Our judgment on these identifications must be reserved, but on iconographical grounds it seems not improbable that the coin is of Tiberian rather than Augustan date. It is not quoted by Edwards, *Corinth*, VI.

## E. EASTERN PROVINCES

### CNOSSUS<sup>7</sup>

48. TI·CAES·AVGVS· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. FVSCO ET MAXIMO IIVIR· in four lines in field.

Vienna (PLATE V, 10), Berlin, Istanbul.

<sup>7</sup> For coins of doubtful date with the names of M. AEMILIVS, LABEO, POLLIO and TI. CAESAR IIVIR. (PLATE VIII, 1-4), see Appendix 1.



49. MAXIMO IIVIR· DIVOS AVG· bare head of Augustus to left.

*Rev.* FVSCO IIVIR· IVLIA AVGVS·D·D. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

Writer's collection (PLATE V, 11), London (PLATE V, 12), Vienna, Athens. See also Addenda.

Svoronos has rightly placed the Athens piece in the Cretan section of that collection. The Istanbul specimen is recorded as having been acquired in a bag with 20 other Cretan coins. The present writer's example was acquired in Athens, and almost certainly found somewhere on Greek territory. Imhoof-Blumer, *MG*, p. 140, in describing no. 48 only, points out its incompatibility with the issues of Buthrotum, with which it is classified in the Vienna Cabinet and by Muensterberg, *NZ*, 1911, p. 110 (on the inadequate grounds of a common Fuscus: L. Ateius Fuscus appears at Buthrotum, inadvertently omitted by *FITA*, p. 269). The Vienna specimen of no. 49 used to be placed with "uncertain Spanish." Muensterberg, in his manuscript addition to the Vienna Cabinet's copy of his work just cited, suggests Utica; but this is only because of Müller's erroneous ascription to that city of the piece which will next be discussed, which Muensterberg, rightly in the present writer's opinion, regarded as a product of the same mint as the FVSCO-MAXIMO pieces.

50. TI· CAESAR AVG· bare head of Tiberius to left.

*Rev.* C·APRO·NE· above, and IIVIR· below, D·D·P·Q· in field.

London (PLATE V, 13), Copenhagen.

Misread by Müller, II, pp. 162, 373. As stated in connection with no. 49, Muensterberg is probably right in associating this issue with the foregoing coins; it especially resembles no. 48. Müller attributes the present specimen to Utica, but it shows no close similarity to any issue of that city and the style is not African. Müller may have been influenced in his attribution by the *nomen* Apronius, cf. the proconsul L. Apronius (nos. 20, 24 ff.); but the name is not rare enough for this point to carry any weight.

51. IVLIA AVG· bare head of Livia to right, with hair knotted behind neck.

Rev. As last.

Berlin (PLATE V, 14).

Apparently unpublished.

#### ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA

52. [TI·CAES(AR?)DI]VI AVG·F·AVGVST·IMP·VIII· bare head of Tiberius to left.

Rev. C·C. Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre.

London (PLATE V, 15).

Hill, NC, 1914, p. 303, 12, and *ibid.*, Plate XIX, 8. For the attribution of the ethnic, *FITA*, p. 250. Pisidian Antioch's exceptional colonial epithet *Caesarea*—not paralleled at Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253, pace Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, p. 1007, etc.—is recorded on the only two Augustan mintages that can at present be attributed to this city: these read COL·CAES· (*BM*, Berlin, Vienna: *FITA*, Plate IX, 5) and PARENS CAESAREA COL· (Berlin, cf. NC, 1914, p. 299, 40; *FITA*, Plate VIII, 12). In *FITA*, p. 251, it is suggested that the title *Parens* refers to the seniority of Antioch, as of Lystra, *vis-à-vis* the other colonies of the province, but the latter cities may not have been founded at the time of issue and the word probably refers rather to Augustus; cf. at Gades, Agrippa MVNICIPI PARENS (*FITA*, p. 171). For the foundation of the colonies see further *RAI*, Chapter V, sections i and iv.

#### SINOPE

53. DRVSO CAESARI bare head of Drusus junior to right.

Rev. EX D·D·C·I·F·AN·LXIII· in four lines in oak (?) wreath.

Cambridge (from the writer's collection) (PLATE V, 16).

Apparently unpublished and unknown. Acquired in Istanbul and believed to have been found in Turkey. For the attribution of the ethnic *C(olonia) I(ulia) F(elix)* see *FITA*, p. 253: some pieces of Augustus have C·F·I·SI· (*RGMG*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, p. 201, no. 76a) and probably also C·I·F·S· (Forrer, *RB*, 1900, p. 288). For the date AN·LXIII· (A.D. 19-20), see *FITA*, p. 253, n. 3. Although Kubitschek, *NZ*, 1908, p. 68, is wrong in completely restricting this type of chronography to coins of Sinope—

it appears not only at Viminacium in the third century (Head, p. 273), but also on a second century coin of Parium, *FITA*, p. 253, n. 2, correcting *RGMG*, I, p. 200—his observation appears to be true as regards the first centuries B.C. and A.D.

## (ii) The Character of the Coinage

### A. METROLOGY

Like many other aspects of this coinage, its composition, weights and denominations raise problems that are difficult and indeed at present insoluble. As regards composition, a number of spectrographic tests<sup>8</sup> of these non-Spanish issues has so far recorded no abandonment of the Augustan practice according to which—either through conservatism or imperial monopoly<sup>9</sup>—such coinages, unlike main official issues which were of *orichalcum* and copper, remained of bronze.<sup>10</sup> Strong, or fairly strong, lead and tin alloys still occur at Panormus(?) (no. 10: cf. Plate I, 15),<sup>11</sup> Cnossus (no. 49: cf. Plate V, 12),<sup>12</sup> and Sinope (no. 53: Plate V, 16),<sup>13</sup> as at Corinth under Caligula.<sup>14</sup> In the last case the proportion of neither metal exceeds ten per cent,<sup>15</sup> and at *municipium* Utica under Tiberius (cf. Plate VIII, 8-9)<sup>16</sup> the admixture was perhaps smaller still.<sup>17</sup> Carthage(?) (no. 15: cf. Plate II, 1)<sup>18</sup> and Thapsus (no. 30: cf. Plate III, 5)<sup>19</sup> show a preponderance of lead over tin—in the latter

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Caley, p. 149.

<sup>10</sup> *FITA*, p. 300 and n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *FITA*, p. 493, no. 48.

<sup>12</sup> A tin, B lead.

<sup>13</sup> B tin, B lead.

<sup>14</sup> Caley, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> 8.39% tin, 7% lead: Caley, p. 63. Id., pp. 69 f., quotes Strabo VIII, 381, as evidence for the view that Corinth's coinage was made of melted-down statues.

<sup>16</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>17</sup> *FITA*, p. 493, nos. 55 and 56.

<sup>18</sup> D tin, A lead.

<sup>19</sup> E tin, A lead.

case the amount of tin is negligible<sup>20</sup>—that is characteristic of city issues since the Hellenistic period.<sup>21</sup>

Contrasts to these findings are apparent in Spain. It is true that some, if not all, Tiberian coins of Turiaso, Saguntum and Caesar Augusta (cf. Plate VI, 1) again show fairly strong lead and tin alloys.<sup>22</sup> At Tarraco,<sup>23</sup> however, as at Paestum,<sup>24</sup> there is sometimes no lead or virtually none, but a considerable quantity of the much more expensive constituent tin. Elsewhere, marked deviations occur even within the series of a single Spanish city. At Romula, for example, whereas one Tiberian piece (cf. Plate VII, 6)<sup>25</sup> contains a little lead as well as tin,<sup>26</sup> a smaller specimen of the same reign (cf. Plate VII, 5) is actually (accidental impurities apart) of pure copper.<sup>27</sup> At Ilici the same distinction occurs, again under Tiberius, in two different coins of the same size (cf. Plate VI, 6,<sup>28</sup> bronze;<sup>29</sup> and 7,<sup>30</sup> copper). Carthago Nova is a third Spanish mint<sup>31</sup> to issue coins of pure copper<sup>32</sup> in the same principate.

For the initiative of these three Roman cities in using pure copper we know of a few precedents at Greek cities (notably Olbia<sup>33</sup>). No such phenomenon has so far been traced in any city coinage under Augustus; but it would be premature to say that Augustan precedents do not exist, for there are many issues of which no analyses have yet been made. All that can be said is that the practice of

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Caley, pp. 114, 125, 139, 172, 189.

<sup>22</sup> B tin, B lead.

<sup>23</sup> B tin.

<sup>24</sup> *FITA*, p. 493, no. 69.

<sup>25</sup> Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 3.

<sup>26</sup> B tin, C lead.

<sup>27</sup> Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 2—spectograph.

<sup>28</sup> Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10.

<sup>29</sup> B tin, C lead.

<sup>30</sup> Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6—spectograph.

<sup>31</sup> Vives, IV, p. 37, no. 41.

<sup>32</sup> E tin—negligible, cf. Appendix 3.

<sup>33</sup> Caley, pp. 83, 109, Table XVI.

occasionally issuing colonial coinage in the official metal of pure copper was in existence, even if it did not originate, under Tiberius. This tendency, whether at the time it had any conscious purpose or not, points ahead to the date, not far distant, when the Western local coinages would give way altogether to the imperial system.

The complement to copper in the official coinage, namely *orichalcum*, has not yet been identified by the present writer in any mintage of a Roman city under either Augustus or Tiberius. It is, however, attributed to Caesaraugustan coinage of the latter *princeps* (Plate VI, 2) by Zobel y Zangroniz.<sup>34</sup> As regarded peregrine issues, there is a possible Tiberian instance of *orichalcum* at Tomi,<sup>35</sup> and perhaps also at Panormus just before its colonisation.<sup>36</sup> These precedents were followed by Caligula and Claudius, under whom local *orichalcum* coinages occur at Smyrna<sup>37</sup> and perhaps Aezanis<sup>38</sup> respectively, as well, probably, as at other cities; similar instances, though never apparently frequent, occur in the third century.<sup>39</sup> Caley ascribes such deviations from the ordinary bronze alloy to the use for coinage—regardless of composition—of melted down *aes* pieces, which in this case would have been Roman *orichalcum*.<sup>40</sup> This explanation can hardly apply in full to the Julio-Claudian period, when there would not yet have been time to melt down many coins in this recently originated alloy; but it is quite possible that the cities melted down other objects for conversion into their coinage,<sup>41</sup> and in so doing they may have disregarded the composition of those objects. For this reason, and because of the incompleteness

<sup>34</sup> *Memorial Numismático Español*, V, 1880, p. 123; cf. *FITA*, p. 300, n. 2: = Vives, IV, p. 83, no. 59.

<sup>35</sup> B zinc, E tin, C lead. But on the zinc see Appendix 3.

<sup>36</sup> *FITA*, pp. 198, 493, no. 43 (misprinted as 44 on p. 198, n. 4).

<sup>37</sup> *FITA*, p. 493, no. 63.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 57.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. of Elagabalus at Nicaea: Caley, p. 90; cf. a coin of Hadrian at Alexandria, *ibid.*, p. 91, 102.

<sup>40</sup> P. 191; cf. p. 149.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Caley, pp. 69 f.

of analyses, it cannot confidently be stated that the Roman cities under Tiberius consciously varied the constituents of their coinage from Augustan practice.

As regards the second metrological factor, that of weights, again no indications of a new policy, after the accession of Tiberius, are detectable. Among such a varied collection of weights and sizes it would be hopeless to endeavour to find a norm; but, according to one reconstruction, the colonial issues of Tiberius (in Spain as well as outside it), seem to be based on a bronze *as* of c. 235 to c. 160 grains.<sup>42</sup> At first sight this suggests greater consistency than had prevailed in the principate of Augustus, when the Roman towns had used a bewildering variety of weight-standards: their *asses* had apparently fluctuated from c. 350 to c. 80 grains, "and even at neighbouring Spanish cities, or on consecutive issues of the same mint, there is no attempt at uniformity."<sup>43</sup> But this apparent distinction between Augustus and Tiberius is based on the whole of the former's reign, and does not take into consideration the possibility that, during its lengthy course, the practice later favoured by Tiberius had already been reached. Such a comparison is therefore confusing; and throughout the present section the practice of Tiberius will instead be compared—as seems historically more profitable—with only the final period of the principate of Augustus:<sup>44</sup> namely his last sixteen years (2 B.C.—A.D. 14).<sup>45</sup> A glance at the colonial coinage during this period quickly shows that any tightening of standard perceptible under Tiberius may equally be attributed to the last years of Augustus: for among the colonial coinages of that period we already find no clear traces of the heaviest and lightest *asses* of the early Augustan period.<sup>46</sup> It must be

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>43</sup> *FITA*, p. 300.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. also Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

<sup>45</sup> This forms a convenient point of departure, since the title *pater patriae*, assumed in 2 B.C., appears on a very large proportion of all colonial coinage from that time onwards, and portraiture changes (cf. *NC*, 1949, in press).

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix 4.

stressed, however, that any conclusions based on metrological considerations can, as regards colonial coinages, only be conjectural.

## B. OCCASIONS OF ISSUE

As regards occasions of issue, we are on equally uncertain ground, and indeed here on more uncertain ground than we were under Augustus. A large number of Roman cities had owed their Augustan issues to a *deductio* or *constitutio* or *restitutio*. Naturally a foundation that has occurred under Augustus could not occur again (except as a *restitutio*) under the second *princeps*; but the very scanty evidence at our disposal does not support the view of Dessau<sup>47</sup> and Scramuzza<sup>48</sup> that such foundations were suspended during his principate.<sup>49</sup> On the contrary the evidence regarding foundations such as Emona<sup>50</sup> and Tifernum<sup>51</sup> suggests that Tiberius founded colonies (as well, perhaps, as *municipia* such as Cambodunum<sup>52</sup>) no less frequently—and perhaps more frequently—than had Augustus during the last sixteen years of his life.<sup>53</sup> No. 10 (Plate I, 15) has tentatively been identified as a Tiberian foundation coinage of *colonia* Panormus; others are hard to identify, but, even if they are few and far between, this paucity does not necessarily prove that Tiberius was stricter than Augustus in sanctioning them. The cause of monetary infrequency might instead lie rather in the geographical situation of the foundations of the second *princeps*: for most of the probable or possible examples of such foundations were located in provinces such as Illyricum and Pannonia, where colonial and mu-

<sup>47</sup> *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, p. 90. Cf. for a similar argument regarding the coinage of *municipia*, Appendix 2.

<sup>48</sup> *EC*, p. 279, n. 26.

<sup>49</sup> The evidence is discussed in Appendix 5.

<sup>50</sup> Saria, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, II, 10, 1938; cf. *CIL*, III, 10768.

<sup>51</sup> *Liber Coloniarum* = *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 224, cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 218.

<sup>52</sup> Stade, *CAH*, XI, pp. 531 f.

<sup>53</sup> This period is used throughout the present section for purposes of comparison (see last subsection; cf. also Appendices 2, 4 and 5).

municipal coinage does not in any case occur either in this or in any other principate.

Another of the main features of colonial and municipal coinage under Augustus had been the jubilee-issue. This category comprises mintages signalling the twenty-fifth, fiftieth, hundredth and other anniversaries of the *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio* of the minting city.<sup>54</sup> This custom, unlike that of foundation coinage, shows no sign of waning before the death of Augustus: for six of the eight issues tentatively ascribed to this category<sup>55</sup> fall within the last *decennium* of his principate. An examination of the issues of Tiberius warrants the suggestion that, as one might expect, certain cities maintained the same practice in his reign. The evidence is again intractable, but it seems not improbable that our no. 52 of Antioch in Pisidia (Plate V, 15), among others, may be ascribed to a local half-centenary occasion; and that the same applies to a Tiberian issue of the Spanish *municipium* of Dertosa (Plate VI, 5).<sup>56</sup> It also appears likely that the single issue of Sinope (Plate V, 16), dated to A.D. 19-20 and isolated in a long gap between issues under Augustus<sup>57</sup> and Caligula,<sup>58</sup> celebrates—like other coinages<sup>59</sup>—the imperial half-centenaries of Actium and Egypt (31-30 B.C.). The evidence is not sufficient to determine whether policy regarding local anniversary issues developed in any way *within* the principate of Tiberius.

Likewise we cannot tell whether any colonial and municipal issues are attributable to his accession<sup>60</sup> or to its *decennium* or *vicen-*

<sup>54</sup> Dyrrhachium, Cnossus, Patrae(?), Uselis, Cirta(??), Carthage(?), Lugdunum(?), Lystra; for summary see *FITA*, p. 295.

At least one peregrine city (Leptis Minor) follows a similar practice; cf. *ibid.*, p. 338. There are probably other cases.

<sup>55</sup> All except Dyrrhachium and Cnossus.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the evidence see Appendix 6.

<sup>57</sup> *FITA*, p. 253, n. 3.

<sup>58</sup> *BMC*, Pontus, etc., p. 101, no. 55. See also Addenda.

<sup>59</sup> See below, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A, and *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii.

<sup>60</sup> It is tempting, on iconographical and other grounds, to ascribe to this occasion issues of the Spanish *coloniae* Acci, Saguntum and Tarraco and *municipia* Calagurris and Utica.



*nium*. These were all occasions which had prompted extensive official mintages,<sup>61</sup> and the accession appears to have inspired peregrine issues also;<sup>62</sup> it is quite likely, therefore, that our issue of Thapsus with the date IMP· VII· (A.D. 14-18) (no. 21: Plate II, 9) belongs to the same occasion.

In general, as far as the obscurity of our evidence enables any conclusions whatever to be drawn, it seems that the Roman cities probably coined both for local and for imperial anniversaries to much the same extent, and with much the same balance of emphasis between the same categories, as they had in the later years of Augustus.<sup>63</sup>

### C. SIGNATORIES AND FORMULAS

The conclusion reached in the last subsection applies equally to the signatories and formulas that appear on these coinages; for they follow much the same practice as had been characteristic of the principate of Augustus. Prominent among signatories is L. Cael. Clem. *IIvir* at Paestum (no. 7-8: Plate I, 11-14). His type is the *apex*, which symbolises the flamine:<sup>64</sup> for this *duovir* is the colonial *flamen Ti. Caesaris Augusti*. Similar officials are found on inscriptions;<sup>65</sup> and other inscriptions tell of cults of the *genius*<sup>66</sup> and *numen*<sup>67</sup> of the second *princeps*.<sup>68</sup> *Flamines* of Germanicus and Livia occur at Olisipo.<sup>69</sup> But *Flamines* of Augustus, too, had oc-

<sup>61</sup> See *RAI*, Chapter III.

<sup>62</sup> *FITA*, pp. 330 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Celebrations of anniversaries on colonial coinages did not cease with Tiberius. The present writer suggests in *NC*, 1948, pp. 117, 125, that two pieces of Caligula's reign should be ascribed to this category. For later emperors see *RAI*, Chapters IV and V.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup>, p. 499, and nn. 5, 6.

<sup>65</sup> E.g., *ILS*, 6481 (Venusia), cf. Nock, *CAH*, p. 493, Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte Rendu aux Empereurs Romains*, p. 169.

<sup>66</sup> *ILS*, 6080, cf. 116, etc.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 158 (and of senate), cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. also a *sexvir Augustalis et Tiberialis* at Asculum, *ILS*, 6565.

<sup>69</sup> *ILS*, 6896. Cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, *id.*, *RIS*, p. 159.

curred in his lifetime. This particularly applies to the last period of his principate, in which we find M. Paccius Maximus, *duovir* at Halaesa, likewise described as *Flamen* on a coin of that city,<sup>70</sup> like other officials recorded by inscriptions.<sup>71</sup>

L. Cael. Clem. is only one of a considerable number of city-magistrates who are signatories of our coins. Altogether at least twenty-six names appear.<sup>72</sup> Their titles reveal certain tendencies that had not been so apparent under Augustus. None of these names are of *praefecti* representing the *princeps* or members of his family. The only princely *duovir*, Ti. Gemellus at Paestum (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14), is not, as far as the legend reveals, represented by a *praefectus*; and he is placed second to his colleague L. Cael. Clem. Earlier in the reign, as under Augustus,<sup>73</sup> *praefecti* representing the younger princes had occurred elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> The Paestan issue seems to reflect a tendency to discourage the practice; but other instances of it occur at least as late as A.D. 34,<sup>75</sup> though possibly not thereafter. Thus its final abandonment might be due to Tiberius. But it might also date from the principate of Caligula,<sup>76</sup> and from his unwilling-

<sup>70</sup> *FITA*, p. 195; cf. perhaps Cn. Statil. Libo *praef. sacerdos* (ibid., p. 163 and n. 1), but Rivero, *Madrid Catalogue*, p. 24, considers him to be of Julius; on this coin see now A. Beltran, *AEA*, 1947, pp. 137 ff. P. Vibius *Sac. Caes.* at Parium (*FITA*, p. 249) may be a priest of Julius.

<sup>71</sup> See, e.g., Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, pp. 32, 34; *ILS*, III, 1, p. 572, etc. *Flamines Augusti* are mainly found in Italy from c. 2 B.C.; cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 487.

<sup>72</sup> These names would repay investigation from a prosopographical viewpoint, a task which will not be attempted here. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, pp. 79 ff., has made a start by his study of the Baebii and Rusticellii at Pella (nos. 34 ff.). Salasi. at Panormus (no. 10) recalls Salassus *Comitalis* at Agrigentum under Augustus, *FITA*, p. 196, cf. n. 12. For Fadii and Fusci see recently *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 115, nos. 97 ff.; p. 234, nos. 599 ff. (for a late Republican Fadius at Paestum, *FITA*, p. 202).

<sup>73</sup> *FITA*, p. 508 (references).

<sup>74</sup> E.g. at Salonae for Drusus junior and P. Cornelius Dolabella, Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, pp. 131 ff.; for Nero and Drusus, Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, p. 24; cf. perhaps at Utica, see Appendix 2.

<sup>75</sup> *ILS*, 639 f. (Pompeii, Caligula), Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, p. 308, n. 64; Kornemann, *RE*, XVI, 623. Of about the same date is a coin of Caesaraugusta likewise showing a *praefectus* of the young Caligula, Vives, IV, p. 82, no. 54 f.; but no *praefectus* of him is recorded at Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3).

<sup>76</sup> But the emperors themselves continued to be represented by *praefecti* at least until the second century: e.g. *ILS*, 6662, cf. Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, p. 130, n. 17.

ness to allow similar honours to his short-lived "heir" Ti. Gemellus.<sup>77</sup>

At all events such *praefecturae* for princes seem to have been discouraged by Tiberius. This discouragement, serving to avoid emphasis on a "royal family," may well have been intended as a conservative rather than as an autocratic measure; but it none the less constituted a restriction of the Roman cities' initiative, if only of their initiative to flatter. Whether in this case Tiberius or Caligula was responsible, there is certain other evidence, not only of a numismatic kind, suggesting that Tiberius pursued a policy of gradual encroachment on the Roman cities. It is true that a joint protest of Italian cities about a Tiber regulation scheme still influenced the government.<sup>78</sup> But they were deprived of the profits of local taxation;<sup>79</sup> garrisons in Italy (where so large a proportion of these cities were) were increased in number;<sup>80</sup> and the cities were now, if not earlier, called upon to provide supplies to the *princeps* when he travelled.<sup>81</sup> Other restrictions too have been conjectured,<sup>82</sup> and they are possible enough for a man who, like Tiberius, hated the Italian colonies and *municipia* in later life.<sup>83</sup> But whether this influenced his attitude or not, there was nothing new in this policy: Augustus had followed precisely the same programme of

<sup>77</sup> On this phase see von Premerstein, p. 66, and *Mitteilungen aus den Papyrussammlungen der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, V, 1939; Collart, *RPh*, 1941, p. 58; Ensslin, *Gnomon*, 1943, p. 169.

<sup>78</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, I, 79, cf. Marsh, p. 125.

<sup>79</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 49; cf. Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, p. 147; Rogers, p. 244, n. 106; *FITA*, p. 203, n. 13.

<sup>80</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 37.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. waning of local *comitia* (Sebastian, *De Patronis Coloniarum atque Municipiorum Romanorum*, Diss: Halle, 1884, p. 46), discouragement of local foundation committees (*FITA*, p. 285), diminutions of rights of certain city quaestors (Mantey, *De Gradu et Statu Quaestorum in Municipiis Coloniisque*, Diss: Halle, 1882, p. 9), abolition of decurional votes by proxy (Jullian, *Les Transformations Politiques de l'Italie sous les Empereurs Romains*, p. 34); moreover, in Gaul in particular, certain losses of rights by peregrine communities (Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, pp. 155, n. 3, 286, 337, 389, n. 1) may have involved curtailments of the independence of Roman cities also. There is no unqualified numismatic evidence for the repression or assimilation of *municipia* as such: see Appendix 2.

<sup>83</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 67 (A.D. 27): *perosus . . . municipia et colonias omniaque in continenti sita*.

gradual encroachment.<sup>84</sup> In particular, Augustus had used a variety of indirect methods to this end; and Tiberius did the same. For example, his predecessor had "made personal gifts to the colonies an excuse for legislation regarding their maintenance";<sup>85</sup> and we find Tiberius, imitated in this by his son Drusus junior,<sup>86</sup> following suit.<sup>87</sup> Road-building, too, in which Tiberius was active<sup>88</sup> (if not always quite active enough<sup>89</sup>), recalls the use of this very method by Augustus as a means of influencing local communities.<sup>90</sup>

These are all matters in which Tiberius was continuing an Augustan policy or carrying it to its logical conclusion. At first sight, however, our coinage might seem to present a more original feature, in the diminished part played by *duoviri quinquennales*. Their names had frequently appeared on issues of the preceding principate. Our present series, however, only shows three such colleges—C. Baebius P.f. and L. Rusticelius Basterna at Pella (nos. 34-36: Plate IV, 6-8), L. Rusticelius Cordus (with no mention of his colleague) at the same city (nos. 37-40: Plate IV, 9-11), and P. Caninius Agrippa and L. Castricius Regulus at Corinth (no. 46: Plate V, 9).<sup>91</sup>

One reason for this diminution, as far as these non-Spanish issues are concerned, might be supplied by Tiberius' far smaller reliance than his predecessor on these coinages for practical augmentation of monetary output.<sup>92</sup> At least in the earlier part of the principate of Augustus it had been the practice for many colonies, of which

<sup>84</sup> *FITA*, pp. 317 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>86</sup> *CIL*, V, 6358 (Laus Pompeia), cf. Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 95; Rogers, p. 136.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. *CIL*, V, 2149 (Altinum), cf. Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 101; *NS*, 1907, pp. 658 f. (Lanuvium); *ILS*, 114 (Brixia), cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. the *Tiberia Platea* at Antioch in Pisidia, Robinson, *AJA*, 1924, pp. 438 ff. Smith, p. 212, n. 126.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. in the Illyrian provinces (Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 104, etc.); Gaul (Smith, p. 212, n. 6, etc.); Spain (Sickle, *CP*, 1929, p. 77; Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 171 and n. 6; van Nostrand, *ESAR*, III, p. 34; Rogers, p. 211, n. 110); Africa (Marsh, p. 148; Haywood, *ESAR*, IV, p. 34), etc. Colonies were less affected by road-building in Syria and Egypt (Smith, p. 212, nn. 118, 119).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Baladon, p. 148; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 271, n. 57.

<sup>90</sup> *FITA*, p. 322.

<sup>91</sup> Nero and Drusus may be recorded in the same capacity at Utica: see Appendix 2.

<sup>92</sup> See below, subsection D.

the issues fulfilled such purposes, to coin at the conclusion of their *lustra*.<sup>93</sup> Now, however, the occasions for colonial coinage,<sup>94</sup> less regular as this had become, coincide less often with local *quinquennia*.<sup>95</sup> But this cannot be the whole story; for in Spain, too, where colonial coinage continued to contribute materially to the imperial monetary system, the recorded proportion of *quinquennales* to *duoviri* is likewise smaller in the principate of Tiberius than (if we take it as a whole) in the principate of Augustus. Did Tiberius, then, restrict the powers which the *quinquennales* had possessed over local finance?<sup>96</sup> If we look into the matter more closely, it appears that no such view is warranted by the numismatic evidence. For the last decade or two of Augustus can only show a single quinquennialian college on a non-Spanish coin (and that a doubtful one<sup>97</sup>), and only one more within the peninsula.<sup>98</sup> So it is clear that the impression gained by contrasting the two principates as a whole would be misleading. For if, adopting a procedure that is followed more than once in the present work,<sup>99</sup> we compare the practice of Tiberius not with the whole principate of Augustus, but with the last part of the latter's reign, we find that there is no change: the diminution in the numismatic record of *quinquennales*, noted under Tiberius, had already begun under his predecessor.

Again, in the time of Tiberius, as in the time of Augustus, local formulae still greatly exceed official ones on the colonial issues. At Paestum itself we find P[AE](*sti*) S(*ignatum*) alongside S·C· (nos. 1, etc.: Plate I, 1); and elsewhere are D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (nos.

<sup>93</sup> *FITA*, p. 162. *Ibid.*, p. 283, it is quite wrong to consider coins with the names of *quinquennales* as peculiarly characteristic of Carthago Nova, as does Heiss, *Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne*, p. 274.

<sup>94</sup> On these see above, subsection B.

<sup>95</sup> It was only in the troubled years of the end of the Republic that local *lustra* had been celebrated irregularly; cf. *FITA*, pp. 164 and n. 4, 311, 159.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Hardy, *Six Roman Laws*, p. 148; *FITA*, p. 270, n. 14.

<sup>97</sup> See Appendix 1 (Cnossus).

<sup>98</sup> Emporiae and Carthago Nova.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. above, subsections A and B; below, subsection D, and Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

17, 29, 33-40, 49: Plate II, 3, IV, 1, 5-11, V, 11), P(*ecunia*) P(*ublica*) D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (nos. 15-16: Plate II, 1-2), D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) P(*opuli*) Q(*ue*) (nos. 50-51: Plate V, 13-14) and EX D(*ecreto*) D(*ecurionum*) (no. 53: Plate V, 16). The plain formula D·D· is commonest, as under Augustus. P·P·D·D·, at Carthage(?) (as at Utica<sup>100</sup>) under Tiberius, repeats the formula used at the same mint under his predecessor.<sup>101</sup> P(*ecunia*) P(*ublica*)—for such, here at least, is the likely interpretation of the first two letters<sup>102</sup>—probably refers to the purely local enactment to which the accompanying letters D·D· bear witness. Finally D·D·P·Q· at Cnossus(?) is a variant of P·P·D·D·. It may be compared with the D(*ecurionum*) P(*opuli*) Q(*ue*) C(*onsensu*) at Cirta(?) under Augustus.<sup>103</sup> Such formulae show no evidence of increasing uniformity under Tiberius, and the same applies to case-usages as regards ethnics, which remain varied.<sup>104</sup>

So, too, the Paestan formula S.C., referring apparently to the Roman rather than to the local senate,<sup>105</sup> remains exceptional under Tiberius,<sup>106</sup> just as it was exceptional under Augustus;<sup>107</sup> it is not until the third century that S(*enatus*) R(*omanus*) likewise appears on the issues of Pisidian Antioch.<sup>108</sup> The Roman senate is mentioned by Paestum because it was by a *senatusconsultum*, moved *auctoritate principis*,<sup>109</sup> that these issues, like the official *aes* coinage,<sup>110</sup> were authorised. The persistence of this formula on Paes-

<sup>100</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>101</sup> *FITA*, p. 231.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. n. 7.

<sup>103</sup> *FITA*, p. 232.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix 7.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Milne, *The Development of Roman Coinage*, p. 22; Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 124; *FITA*, 287.

<sup>106</sup> Does the fact that a rare ethnic of Carthago Nova follows in imply a similar restriction of local authority? Cf. Appendix 7.

<sup>107</sup> *FITA*, p. 284.

<sup>108</sup> Head, p. 706.

<sup>109</sup> The *princeps* exercised this *auctoritas* by virtue of a *ius senatus consulendi* (cf. the *ius primae relationis*) considered as forming part of his *tribunicia potestas*.

<sup>110</sup> *FITA*, pp. 446 ff. This theory has been favourably received by Mattingly, *NC*,

tan issues throughout the principate of Tiberius suggests that he continued to use the senate as intermediary for their authorisation.

Regarding cities other than Paestum—which is unparalleled<sup>111</sup>—the situation in this respect is more obscure. Under Augustus their issues were authorised by *auctoritas principis*,<sup>112</sup> and this may, sometimes at least, have been given expression by a *senatusconsultum*,<sup>113</sup> however, the cities do not refer to the *senatusconsulta*, but sometimes cite the *auctoritas principis*, using formulas such as PERM(issu) AVG(usti)<sup>114</sup>—though not in provinces such as Africa and Syria where the governors were important enough to record their own permission.<sup>115</sup> PERM·AVG· recurs under Tiberius,<sup>116</sup> and its continued link with *auctoritas* is illustrated by the *ex auctoritate* Ti. Caesaris Augusti et permissu eius of an Aquinum inscription.<sup>117</sup> Whether the *auctoritas* authorising these coinages with PERM·AVG· was exercised through *senatusconsulta*, and (if so) how long this practice continued, is uncertain. All that can be said is that there was a *general* tendency, in the Julio-Claudian period, for the senate's intermediary rôle in the expression of *auctoritas principis* to diminish. At first (recalling S·C· at Paestum) we still find formulae such as *ex.s.c. ex auctoritate* Ti. Caesaris.<sup>118</sup> Again, *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* were still appointed by *senatusconsulta*—no doubt on the suggestions of the *princeps*—during at least part of the reign of Tiberius; but similar officials are later re-

1946, p. 132; Bellinger, *AJA*, 1947, p. 339; Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, p. 211, and *CR*, 1947, p. 115; Vallejo, *Emerita*, 1946, p. 407.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 289.

<sup>112</sup> *FITA*, pp. 323 f., 427.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. a *senatusconsultum* apparently authorising an Augustan refoundation (Apmæa) preceding coinage, *FITA*, pp. 292 f. Cf. p. 255.

<sup>114</sup> *FITA*, pp. 295, 321.

<sup>115</sup> *FITA*, p. 260. Was there a change in A.D. 13 (*ibid.*, p. 453)?

<sup>116</sup> E.g. at Emerita, Romula, Italica: Vives, IV, p. 64, no. 39, p. 124, no. 2, p. 127, no. 12. In Africa the governor's permission is still recorded, cf. below, Chapter II, section ii.

<sup>117</sup> *ILS*, 6286 (Q. Decius Saturninus) (Aquinum).

<sup>118</sup> *ILS*, 942 (C. Pontius Paelignus) (Brixia); Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 674, n. 1.

corded as completing their duties, no longer *ex s.c.*, but merely *ex auctoritate Ti. Claudii Caesaris . . . principis sui*.<sup>119</sup>

Tiberius is often stated to have contributed to such changes<sup>120</sup>—A.D. 23<sup>121</sup> and his departure to Capri<sup>122</sup> in particular are described as turning points—but the most that can be said, in regard to the coinage, is that certain issues over a considerable period were now authorised, not by repeated *senatusconsulta*, but by a single one. For official *aes* pieces of A.D. c. 29 and later sometimes record the *tribunicia potestas* with the date of an earlier year,<sup>123</sup> namely the year in which the *princeps* had exercised that *potestas* to move their permissive *senatusconsultum*.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, two of the Spanish cities which inscribe their coinage under Tiberius PERM· AVG· also coin for a time under him on the basis of an authorisation of Augustus—PERM(*issu*) DIVI AVG(*usti*) (Plate VII, 4-6<sup>125</sup>). Whether Augustus used the senate as intermediary for such authorisations or not, this formula suggests that, at least by A.D. 14, they were already becoming less frequent than mintages.

Indeed, the closeness of PERM· DIVI AVG· to A.D. 14 suggests that any paucity of authorisations to which it bears witness owes its origin, like the other Tiberian phenomena that have been discussed in this section, to his predecessor. This consideration recalls that we likewise have no *terminus post quem* for the paucity of *senatusconsulta* illustrated by the delayed tribunician dating on the official *aes*. It has only been identified from later allusions in the types of coins dated to A.D. 22-23: and late Augustan official *aes* has types

<sup>119</sup> *ILS*, 5926; cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 263 and n. 3; von Premerstein, p. 211; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 614 f. See also below, p. 46.

<sup>120</sup> Hammond, p. 296, n. 23; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 270, n. 57; Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 561.

<sup>121</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 6, cf. Marsh, p. 105.

<sup>122</sup> Marsh, p. 220.

<sup>123</sup> *FITA*, p. 447 (but the acceptance there of Sutherland's view of the *Clementia* type expressed in *JRS*, 1938, pp. 131 f., is withdrawn in *RAI*, Chapter III, section ii): Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, pp. 211 f., describes this as "now generally admitted," against his earlier view in *JRS*, 1938, loc. cit. See also below, p. 123.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 448.

<sup>125</sup> Romula, Italica: Vives, IV, p. 124, nos. 2 f., p. 127, no. 9.



too uninformative for such delayed dating, if it occurred, to be identifiable. With the official *aes* this is as far as we can go; but, as regards the colonial issues, PERM· DIVI AVG· seems to indicate that this phenomenon of *en bloc* authorisations, covering a considerable period, was already established before the accession of Tiberius. If this is so, it shares this pre-Tiberian origin with certain other formulae on this coinage as well as with its weights, compositions and types; and it is this conservative aspect of the colonial issues that the present subsection has again illustrated. Later, certain more specifically Tiberian traits will be discussed.<sup>126</sup>

#### D. EXTENT OF THE COINAGE

In general our conclusions hitherto have suggested that the practice of Tiberius was based on that of the last years of Augustus. However, various other numismatic phenomena, and in particular certain restrictions of coinage, are sometimes attributed to Tiberius rather than to Augustus. In this subsection a number of these attributions will be discussed and, it may be said in anticipation, contested; for the present writer feels that they, too, have ascribed to Tiberius what should rightly be assigned to the latter part of the principate of Augustus.

The first question to be considered is the relative quantity of colonial mints operating under the two *principes*. *Prima facie* it would seem that Roman colonies coined less freely under Tiberius than under Augustus. For there are a number of colonies at which we find, in the principate of Tiberius, no repetitions of Augustan mintages.<sup>127</sup> The apparent discrepancy between the two reigns is more noticeable outside Spain than inside it; but even in Spain examples occur.<sup>128</sup> However, for two reasons, with which we are now

<sup>126</sup> Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>127</sup> Outside Spain (*FITA*, pp. 205 ff.): Narbonese colony ("Arausio"??), Babba, Cirta(?). Simitthu(?), Tyndaris, Lystra, Apamea, Patrae, Buthrotum, Philippi, Berytus(?).

<sup>128</sup> E.g. Corduba Patricia (*FITA*, p. 220); Traducta (*ibid.*, pp. 175, 221; on the colony see Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 16 ff.).

familiar, this apparent contrast must be regarded with suspicion. First, a number of the Augustan issues had been prompted by the foundations of the colonies in question, events which took place once and for all and did not recur under Tiberius. Secondly—as in so much else<sup>129</sup>—the contrast disappears if, as regards Augustus, we limit our attention to the last period of his principate. From this angle, though it is impossible to attain any degree of certainty, it no longer seems as though any limitation of colonial minting-rights dates from Tiberius. For we cannot with any probability attribute to the years 2 B.C.-A.D. 14 the coinages of more than nine non-Spanish colonies.<sup>130</sup> These mints differ somewhat from our Tiberian list; but, far from outnumbering it, they actually fall short of it in length.

The same sort of conclusion emerges from consideration of the Spanish issues. In this field, as far as can be seen in the present state of our knowledge, the number of mints of Tiberius at *coloniae civium Romanorum* amounts to at least eight.<sup>131</sup> This total considerably exceeds that of the last sixteen years of the reign of Augustus, in which there can have been scarcely more than four such mints in action.<sup>132</sup> Several Latin cities, too, coined in Spain under Tiberius,<sup>133</sup> whereas none of the issues of the same towns can be attributed to the last sixteen years of Augustus.<sup>134</sup>

A consideration, on similar lines, of the municipal issues likewise fails to bear witness to a Tiberian policy of greater restriction (or of an increased rate of assimilation of colonies and *municipia*).<sup>135</sup> In short, it would be rash to say that the principate of Tiberius, taken as a whole, shows greater restrictions in the use of the mints of Roman cities than the later years of Augustus. The number of

<sup>129</sup> Cf. last three subsections, and Appendices 2, 4 and 5.

<sup>130</sup> Carthage, Cirta(?), Lystra, Sinope, Berytus, Cnossus, Patrae, Corinth, Buthrotum. See *FITA*, ss. vv.

<sup>131</sup> Acci, Caesaraugusta, Carthago Nova, Celsa, Ilici, Tarraco, Romula, Emerita.

<sup>132</sup> Caesaraugusta, Carthago Nova, Tarraco, Emerita.

<sup>133</sup> Cascantum, Osicerda, Graccurris, Ercavica.

<sup>134</sup> *FITA*, pp. 335 ff. Here again the coinages may have been due to *constitutiones* (in this case Tiberian).

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix 2.

colonial mints in action in the later of the two periods was certainly not smaller, and may have been larger, than it was in the preceding decade or two.

The theory of Tiberian restrictions might, however, still be upheld if it could be demonstrated that, even if the number of colonial mints striking in his principate as a whole did not decrease, the incidence of their new issues diminished, not indeed in A.D. 14, but at a later stage or stages during the reign.<sup>136</sup> But the evidence does not tend in this direction either. First, it is very doubtful whether the suppression of the Paestan coinage should be attributed to Tiberius.<sup>137</sup> Certain of these issues (nos. 8 f.—Plate I, 12-14—perhaps also no. 3) appear to have been issued very late in the reign,<sup>138</sup> and their allusion to Ti. Gemellus may indicate that Caligula, rather than Tiberius, was the suppressor. Of the same late Tiberian date are pieces showing the young Caligula at Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3), his *praefectus*<sup>139</sup> at Caesaraugusta, and on other pieces of the same mint the date A.D. 31-32;<sup>140</sup> to which may be compared, at *municipia*, a coin of Bilbilis dated to A.D. 31, and the uninterrupted coinage of Emporiae.<sup>141</sup>

These considerations make it necessary to oppose a number of statements of Mattingly regarding Tiberian local coinages. In the first place, the issues of Carthago Nova and Emporiae to which reference has been made are ignored by his words: "In the latter part of his [Tiberius'] reign and under Caligula, coinage in Spain was limited to Italica, Acci, Bilbilis, Caesaraugusta, Ercavica, Segobriga—in Africa to Carthage, Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus."<sup>142</sup> In-

<sup>136</sup> This deduction could be drawn from Frank, *ESAR*, V, p. 39, n. 9, who describes the confiscations of the mines of Sex. Marius as having been "for the sake of controlling the coinage."

<sup>137</sup> The acceptance of this view in *FITA*, p. 289, must be queried.

<sup>138</sup> Nos. 1 ff. seem early in the reign, no. 4 of the early or middle period, and nos. 6 ff. late.

<sup>139</sup> Vives, IV, p. 82, nos. 54 f.

<sup>140</sup> Vives, IV, p. 81, nos. 44 f.

<sup>141</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>142</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xxiii.

deed, the inclusion in the latter list of Hippo Diarrhytus, of which no coinage (under Tiberius) seems to be later than the mid-twenties, suggests that Mattingly's statement was intended to cover not only the thirties but the latter part of the twenties as well; in which case its incompleteness is probably much greater.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, since he wrote, an issue of *municipium* Tingis has come to light,<sup>144</sup> which, if not late Tiberian, is Caligulan;<sup>145</sup> and a coin of Hippo Diarrhytus<sup>146</sup> which, like issues of another even longer-lived colonial mint Babba,<sup>147</sup> was issued under Claudius.<sup>148</sup>

For these reasons exception must also be taken to a second assertion by Mattingly: "The one important innovation of his reign—the severe restriction of local coinage in the West—was probably forced on him by the nationalist movements under Sacrovir in Gaul and Tacfarinas in Africa."<sup>149</sup> At least as far as the Roman and Latin cities are concerned (and there is no evidence whatever on which to base any such assertion as regards other categories of city<sup>150</sup>),

<sup>143</sup> Iconographical considerations suggest a late, or fairly late, date for coins of Ilici (Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6), *municipia* Osca (Vives, IV, p. 51, nos. 12, 15, 18) and Calagurris, and *coloniae Latinae* Graccurris (Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 181) and Cascantum (*ibid.*, p. 168). It cannot be stated with any certainty that some coins of Tarraco and Emerita also are not of late Tiberian date.

<sup>144</sup> Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 21 ff., and Plate III, 8, 9.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Appendix 2.

<sup>146</sup> Lederer, *NC*, 1943, pp. 92 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Charrier, *Description des Monnaies de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie*, p. 150; *BMC. Imp.*, p. xix, n. 2; *FITA*, pp. 222 f. For the Mauretanian coinage see now P. Quintero Aauri, *Mauritania*, XIV, 163, 1941, p. 167; *AEA*, 46, 1942, p. 63, *Algo sobre Numismática Mauritana* (1945).

<sup>148</sup> This, however exceptional its character and occasion, has made it necessary to avoid ascribing the final suppression of the coinage of this province to Tiberius, as Mattingly, *RC*, p. 195; *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. XIX. For a possible coin of Claudius at Carthage, in honour of Antonia, see below, p. 83 and n. 325.

<sup>149</sup> *RC*, p. 112, cf. pp. 194 f., Hammond, pp. 70 f.

<sup>150</sup> We cannot tell at what point of the early principate the peregrine coinages in the west ended. But in Spain Abdera, Carteia, Ebusus and Clunia (on the earlier issues of which see now Monteverde, *AEA*, 1942, pp. 159 ff.) were still coining under Tiberius, and possibly the last-named city—though this is doubtful, cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 245—even coined under Claudius (Vives, IV, p. 14, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, p. xxiii, n. 7). Ritterling's assumption that it was Tiberius who suppressed the peregrine coinage of Gaul (*Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde*, XXXIV, pp. 38 f.) is a guess. In *FITA*, p. 474, it is conjectured that the "autonomous" African coinage continued "until late in the principate of Augustus."

there was nothing approaching a "severe restriction of local coinage in the West" at or from the time of these revolts. There is no sign of a diminution of local coinages anywhere in the West from A.D. 21 or 24. Indeed, even if we take the actual province affected by the rebellion of Tacfarinas, Africa, we find that its most extensive series, that of *municipium* Utica, did not even start to issue its main coinages (Plate VIII, 8-9; cf. below, Appendix 2) until after the rebel's death. As regards Sacrovir's country, Gaul, there had been no genuine colonial issues in that country for a good many years before his revolt,<sup>151</sup> so it is not significant that there were equally none just after it.

But Mattingly explicitly wishes to extend the connection to Spain also: "Africa and Spain had in no way participated in the revolt (sc. of Sacrovir), but they shared in its results to this extent [n., the war with Tacfarinas may have helped to influence Tiberius], that Tiberius after the early years of his reign more and more discouraged local town issues in those two provinces."<sup>152</sup> As has been stated, the conclusion is unacceptable: both African and Spanish coinages persisted undiminished by these revolts. But even had they not done so, the argument that local coinage in Africa and Spain should have diminished or ceased as a direct result of revolts in Gallia Comata seems, in default of positive evidence, to be an unduly hazardous one. This theory of Mattingly's is linked to another—namely that the same occasion was responsible for the suppression of the "Altar" coinage at Lugdunum;<sup>153</sup> but this view too seems to the present writer, for reasons discussed in an Appendix, to be baseless.<sup>154</sup>

In conclusion, then, it is impracticable to identify either any cessation of "Altar" coinage, or any diminution of Western local mints,

<sup>151</sup> The present writer does not consider the coinage of Nemausus to be "genuine colonial"; but even at that mint (though it coined under the later Julio-Claudians) there is no reliable evidence of Tiberian issues; see Appendix 1. For the colonial coinage of Gaul under Augustus, see *FITA*, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>152</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii.

<sup>153</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii; *RC*, p. 195.

<sup>154</sup> See Appendix 8.

with the revolts of Sacrovir or Tacfarinas; and it must rather be concluded, whether we take the principate of Tiberius as a whole or concentrate on any particular section of it, that the number of colonial and municipal mints coining was not smaller than in the last sixteen years of Augustus.

We reach a somewhat similar conclusion if we look, not at the number of mints, but at the extent of their output, that is to say, at the extent to which these coinages contributed to the bulk of the imperial small change. A *prima facie* comparison between Augustus and Tiberius is again deceptive. For, outside Spain, we find no colony issuing a large mass of coinage under Tiberius. Only Paestum (Plate I, 1-14), Carthage (?) (Plate II, 1-2), Pella (Plate IV, 6-11) and Corinth (Plate V, 4-9) apparently issued a moderate quantity; whereas under Augustus not only had these cities done likewise,<sup>156</sup> but also Buthrotum, Parium, Berytus and Sinope had contributed more or less considerably to the bulk of the empire's *aes* coinage.<sup>156</sup> But if (as on the preceding pages) we adopt the more logical proceeding of restricting our comparison, as far as the principate of Augustus is concerned, to its last sixteen years, we find a very different story. For by then the colonial mints of Buthrotum, Parium, and indeed Pella as well, had ceased to issue, and did not do so again during the reign;<sup>157</sup> whereas Sinope only continued to issue a few pieces that are very nearly as rare as the Tiberian example.<sup>158</sup> It is true that Berytus issued a fair amount of coinage shortly before the death of Augustus;<sup>159</sup> but in this respect it merely cancels out with Pella, which, by way of contrast, seems to have issued a fair bulk of coinage under Tiberius but none (as far as is known) during the last sixteen years of Augustus.

In general, then, outside Spain at least, the colonies contributed

<sup>156</sup> Carthage (*FITA*, p. 231) should perhaps have been added to the list of Augustan colonies with a fair output (*ibid.*, p. 296)—at least as regards the last years of the reign. At the latter period its output was about the same as under Tiberius.

<sup>156</sup> *FITA*, p. 296.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253, n. 3.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260. For Tiberius, see Appendix 1, no. 8.

to the imperial monetary system under Tiberius no less than in the last years of Augustus;<sup>160</sup> while one African *municipium*, Utica, seems to have started quite an extensive coinage after the death of Augustus.<sup>161</sup> Spain reveals a similar situation. It is true that Carthago Nova may provide a smaller volume of coinage after the accession of Tiberius than it had shortly before it; but as against this the issues of Caesaraugusta (Plate VI, 1-2), Tarraco (Plate VII, 1-3), Romula (Plate VII, 5-7) and Emerita<sup>162</sup> (Plate VI, 9, and VII, 8) are actually more prolific under Tiberius than in the last years of his predecessor.<sup>163</sup> In Spain, then, as outside Spain, the colonies' contribution in bulk to the imperial monetary system, viewed as a whole, seems as extensive in the reign of Tiberius as in the years immediately preceding his accession; and here again our evidence suggests the abandonment of theories attributing severe restrictions to the coinage of Roman cities during the first decade of his principate.

Thus our conclusion in regard to the bulk of colonial coinage, and the number of colonial mints, under Tiberius closely resembles the conclusions previously reached in connection with the types, signatories, formulas, metrology, and occasions of these issues. In every case apparent contrasts between the principates of Augustus and Tiberius have vanished when consideration of the former's reign is limited to his last sixteen years. To the practice of those years, in which he played so great a part himself,<sup>164</sup> Tiberius re-

<sup>160</sup> In Africa the Tiberian issues of Hippo Diarrhytus and Thapsus, fairly varied but now very rare, correspond approximately with those of the former city and Hadrumetum under Augustus (*FITA*, p. 296).

<sup>161</sup> *FITA*, p. 182, n. 1. Cf. below, Appendix 2.

<sup>162</sup> For this mint see now Farrés, *AEA*, 1946, pp. 209 ff.

<sup>163</sup> However, a few coins of Romula (Vives, IV, p. 124, 2: Plate VII, 5-6) and *municipium* Italica (Vives, IV, p. 127, 9: Plate VII, 4) inscribe their issues of the new principate, not PERM·AVG· or PERM·TI·CAES·AVG·, but PER[M]·DIVI AVG·—presumably without yet having received the permission of Augustus, but relying on the belief that measures *ex auctoritate principis* survived the death of their initiator; cf. Orestano, *BIDR*, 1937, p. 330, and last subsection.

<sup>164</sup> On this aspect (of a period somewhat neglected, except as regards warfare, by *CAH*, X), see especially J. Schwartz, *RPh*, 1945, pp. 22 f.; Kornemann, *DR*, pp. 26 ff.; *GFA*, pp. 199 ff.; *GR*, pp. 157 ff.

mained faithful; and this conclusion accords exactly with the strong literary tradition of his reliance on Augustan precedents.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Strabo, VI, 288; Tac., *Agr.*, 13, *Ann.*, I, 72, 77, II, 87, IV, 37; cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 612 f.



## CHAPTER II

### TIBERIUS AS *PRINCEPS*

#### (i) The names and titles of Tiberius

ON this as on other coinage of Tiberius, an overwhelming degree of preference is given to names and titles of which the link is not with *imperium*, or for the most part with any formal *potestas*, but with that range of conceptions lying outside the scope of such formal powers and conveniently comprised within the term *auctoritas*.<sup>1</sup> In this category are the three most characteristic and frequent titulatures of Tiberius as *princeps*, all exemplified by our non-Spanish colonial issues:

- (a) TI·CAESAR AVGVSTVS (nos. 14[?], 17, 48, 50: Plate I, 21[?], II, 3, V, 10 and 13).
- (b) TI·CAESAR DIVI AVG·F·AVGVSTVS (nos. 18-20, 33: Plate II, 4, 5, 7, IV, 5).
- (c) TI·CAES[AR] (no. 41: Plate V, 1).

The completest version (b) may be compared and contrasted with the latest official coin-title of his predecessor, CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F·PATER PATRIAE.<sup>2</sup> Let us consider the gentile, praenominal and cognominal positions in turn. In the Augustan titlature, "Augustus" is in the middle (gentile) position, just as *coloniae Iuliae* had been replaced by *coloniae Augustae*.<sup>3</sup> Under Tiberius, "Augustus" usually<sup>4</sup> moves from the gentile to the cog-

<sup>1</sup> This is here interpreted as not comprising any legalised power or magistracy or source of law; cf. *FITA*, p. 426 (nn. 8, 9 for some references). The supposition of Magdelain, p. 90, that such a development occurred in A.D. 13 seems to be based on a mis-translation of Dio 56. 28. For lists of references to *auctoritas* in general see *FITA*, p. 443 f.; Geijeiro, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, XIII, 1941, pp. 409 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 87 ff., 94, 97; cf. *ILS*, 104, Hammond, p. 247, n. 1. But cf. p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 257, 293, n. 1, and below, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>4</sup> TI·AVGVSTVS, however, is occasionally found, e.g. on official coinage of Parium(?) with "colonist" type (*FITA*, Plate IV, 31, cf. p. 111, n. 10), and in *Fasti Antiates* (*CIL*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 284). In longer titulatures "Augustus" only appears in the gentile po-

nominal, and less conspicuous, position.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that the appellation "Augustus" is less closely associated with Tiberius than with the first *princeps*. The same impression is created by version (c), which is paralleled on numerous inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> Augustus had sometimes been called "Caesar" *tout simple*, throughout his life,<sup>7</sup> and had also placed the name in the "gentile" position.<sup>8</sup> But the latter practice was infrequent after his early days,<sup>9</sup> whereas Tiberius followed it throughout his principate, in which plain "Ti. Caesar" was one of his commonest titulatures.<sup>10</sup> This use of "Caesar" where his predecessor had used "Augustus" recalls that, in the reign of Tiberius, there likewise existed a tendency to avoid calling the imperial family *Gens Augusta*.<sup>11</sup> For Tiberius, lacking somewhat the *auctoritas* of his predecessor, did not apparently feel able or willing to lay so much emphasis on the Augustan name. This may be the basis of the well-known assertions by the literary authorities that he refused the name altogether.<sup>12</sup> That, however, was not the case;<sup>13</sup> but he must have been conscious of the difficulty of competing with the illustrious dead. The use of "Caesar" instead of "Augustus" in the prominent gentile position does not particularly imply a link with Divus Julius, who plays no part in the coinage or publicity of Tiberius<sup>14</sup> and whose gentile name (though still

sition in exceptional and irregular cases, e.g. Caesaraugusta (Hill, *NM*, 50, 1931, p. 93, no. 21).

<sup>5</sup> For parallels on the official coinage see *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 120 ff.; cf. *ILS*, 164.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 154, 6285; cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 478; cf. also coins of Emerita, Vives, IV, p. 67, no. 66; and Largus (Helmreich, 97, 120, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 143). Prof. R. Syme has reminded me of the tendency to "binominalism."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 109 f. (examples p. 109, n. 2; these seem to outweigh the doubts of Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 131).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ehrenberg, p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> A revival of this usage on a late Augustan *aes* coinage is due to special commemorative circumstances, cf. below, this subsection, and *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

<sup>10</sup> For some of the references see *ILS*, III, 1, p. 262.

<sup>11</sup> See below, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>12</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 26.2, Dio 57.2.1 (qualified 57.8.1).

<sup>13</sup> See Hammond, p. 268, n. 22; von Premerstein, p. 174, n. 2; Scott, *CP*, 1932, pp. 43 f.; and (erroneously), Baker, *Tiberius Caesar*, p. 166; Haywood, *ESAR*, IV, p. 34, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36; Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1.

used for the *gens*<sup>15</sup>) does not figure in the latter's official titulatures.<sup>16</sup> The name "Caesar" rather illustrates the desire for a principal name which, while stressing his inheritance,<sup>17</sup> avoids the overwhelmingly close association with the first emperor possessed by the appellative "Augustus." Thus Tiberius was the "Caesar"; and his family could come to be known as the "Caesares"; we hear, in the provinces, of a *pontifex Caesarum*.<sup>18</sup> Even under his predecessor, colonies had been called *Caesarea*<sup>19</sup> and perhaps *Caesarina*.<sup>20</sup>

But Augustus had, in his own last titlature, moved "Caesar" from the gentile position to that of *praenomen* (CAESAR AVGVS-TVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE). Tiberius' treatment of the praenominal position can be considered and dismissed very briefly. For he evidently felt that any experiments with *praenomina* could be regarded by conservatives as too reminiscent of the revolutionary years, of which such usages had been a characteristic feature;<sup>21</sup> and so he preferred to keep his own *praenomen*. In this respect, as in the relegation of "Augustus" from the gentile position, he deviated from the final practice of his predecessor.

For similar reasons he again deviated in regard to the cognominal position. The absence of PATER PATRIAE from his entire official coinage leaves us in no doubt that, as the literary tradition records,<sup>22</sup> he refused this title or rather *cognomen*.<sup>23</sup> Even apart from its close personal association with Augustus as his climactic desig-

<sup>15</sup> See below, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>16</sup> It only appears on erroneously composed non-Roman inscriptions, e.g. *ILS*, 161, 244; *CIG*, 2657; cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 478. Even *divi Iuli f.* (of Augustus under Tiberius) is only used on *ILS*, 115, to achieve symmetry with the *Divi Augusti f.* of Tiberius.

<sup>17</sup> For the replacement of the ordinary *nomen* stresses the special position of the imperial *gens*, cf. Ehrenberg, p. 203. Cf. for Agrippa, Sen. *Controv.*, II, 4, 13, Syme, *JRS*, 1948, pp. 124 f.

<sup>18</sup> *CIL*, II, 2038 (Anticaria); cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 159, *JRS*, 1934, p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> *FITA*, p. 250 (Antioch in Pisidia); but not Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>20</sup> Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13 (Asido).

<sup>21</sup> *FITA*, pp. 408, 414 ff. For the early principate see Fraenkel, *RE*, XVI, 2, 1663.

<sup>22</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, I, 72, II, 87 (*parens*), Dio 58, 12, 8, cf. 57, 8, 1; Suet., *Tib.*, 26; cf. von Premerstein, p. 174; Rogers, pp. 63 f., 67 f.

<sup>23</sup> Weber, p. 264, n. 692.

nation<sup>24</sup> it would, for his modest successor, have been rather an uncomfortable appellation: since, though primarily and initially honorary (i.e. an expression of *auctoritas*<sup>25</sup>), it carried an autocratic suggestion<sup>26</sup> owing to its implication, later stressed by Seneca,<sup>27</sup> of *patria potestas*.<sup>28</sup> The refusal, however, of this ambiguous *cognomen* by Tiberius was imperfectly appreciated by the cities of the empire, for it is none the less attributed to him by the coinage of Carthage (nos. 15 and 16: Plate II, 1 and 2), as well as by certain non-Roman inscriptions.<sup>29</sup> Comparable, except that the community is a peregrine one, is the erroneous description of Livia by Lepcis Magna as MATER PATRIAE (Plate VIII, 6), a title which Tiberius is stated to have refused on her behalf.<sup>30</sup> Outside Rome, little attempt was evidently made to fall in with the official *moderatio* of Tiberius.

This moderation, as is now clear, led him to prefer in each of the three parts of his name—*nomen*, *praenomen*, and *cognomen*—appellations less prominent than those which Augustus had finally used in those positions. Moreover, Augustus' *cognomen* at least had carried a still unofficial undertone of *patria potestas*, whereas, of the three regular names of Tiberius, one (his *praenomen*) was his own, and the others were firmly within the sphere of *auctoritas*. For Tiberius could have said, no less conscientiously than his predecessor, *praestiti omnibus auctoritate, potestatis autem nihil amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt*.<sup>31</sup> In the titulatures of Tiberius there is an overwhelming prominence of appellations belonging to the former of these categories.

<sup>24</sup> *Compos factus votorum meorum*, Suet., *Aug.*, 58.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 780; *FITA*, p. 444 (n. 6 references).

<sup>26</sup> It was revived by Caligula and began to have a special significance as *pater exercitus*; cf. Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 555.

<sup>27</sup> *De Clem.*, I, 14, 2; cf. von Premerstein, p. 174 and n. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, pp. 38, 44, 104, compares it from the beginning to the *consensus universorum* of 29 B.C., which he regards as a *Rechtsquelle*.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *CIL*, V, 6416, XI, 3085; *IGRR*, I, 853; cf. Smith, p. 23, n. 46. An *as* with PATER PATRIAE quoted by Cohen is doubted by *RIC*, p. 104, n. 3.

<sup>30</sup> See below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C, n. 269.

<sup>31</sup> *RG*, 6: for recent discussions of this phrase, see Magdelain, pp. 67 ff., and the present writer in *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 104.

But his colonial coinages also bear witness to his permanent tenure of two offices comprising *potestas*: and their choice is significant, for, while neither has the autocratic taint of *imperium*,<sup>32</sup> one is priestly and the other popular and collaborative—the high-priesthood and the tribunician power. To the former of these offices our non-Spanish issues, unlike their Spanish counterparts,<sup>33</sup> an official issue,<sup>34</sup> and a large proportion of epigraphic titulatures,<sup>35</sup> do not refer explicitly; but Hippo Diarrhytus refers to it symbolically by the inclusion of *simpulum* and *lituus* on either side of the portrait of Tiberius (no. 20: Plate II, 7). There is a strong priestly trend apparent in many of his issues, and notably in the frequent and most characteristic representations of Livia.<sup>36</sup> It has been considered not impossible that the principate of Tiberius witnessed an enhancement of the imperial high-priesthood.<sup>37</sup> At all events that office did not decline under Tiberius from the striking importance which it had attained under Augustus,<sup>38</sup> who may, it is suggested elsewhere, have linked it with the imperial auspices.<sup>39</sup>

This priestly office, then, was one of the two permanent *potestates* of Tiberius recorded in his coin-titulatures; and the other was the tribunician power. This does not figure on our non-Spanish issues, and we have to look to Spain for the inclusion in the titulatures of Tiberius and Drusus junior, at Tarraco, of TRIB(*unicia*) POT(*estate*) (Plate VII, 3);<sup>40</sup> and the same phrase is applied to Tiberius, with number, at Caesaraugusta.<sup>41</sup> The rarity of this title on

<sup>32</sup> For the lack of *imperium* by the *pontifex maximus* cf. Rosenberg, *RE*, IX, 1207, Brecht, *Sav. Z.*, 1939, pp. 291 f., against Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 20 and n. 2.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. Emerita (Vives, IV, p. 66, no. 65); Tarraco (ibid., p. 132, nos. 19 f.); Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 3); Ilici (Plate VI, 6); also *municipium* Osca (Vives, IV, p. 52, no. 18), and the peregrine town Segobriga (ibid., p. 48, no. 5).

<sup>34</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 144 (Caesarea in Cappadocia).

<sup>35</sup> *ILS*, III, 1, p. 262.

<sup>36</sup> See below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Balsdon, p. 147.

<sup>38</sup> The latter is especially emphasized by Homo, *Mélanges G. Glotz*, p. 443; Kornemann, *QAS*, IV, 1938, p. 11.

<sup>39</sup> See below, Appendix 11.

<sup>40</sup> Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 20.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 80, nos. 44 ff.; cf. Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 94.

the local coinages of Tiberius—for it does not occur at all on his peregrine issues—is in close accordance with the practice of Augustus, under whom the only cities to refer to the tribunician power on their coinage were the colonies Tarraco and Pisidian Antioch.<sup>42</sup> These were both provincial centres of importance, and so was Caesaraugusta, the chief colonial mint of Tiberius.<sup>43</sup> By their employment of this imperial title, these cities were imitating a very common usage, not indeed of the gold and silver coinage, but of the official *aes*;<sup>44</sup> the latter, like many inscriptions,<sup>45</sup> resemble the Tiberian issue of Caesaraugusta, rather than that of Tarraco, by adding a tribunician date. The *tribunicia potestas* was ostensibly a popular power comprising the *ius auxilii*, but its real meaning lay in the fact that, by it, the *princeps* was enabled to introduce motions in the senate.<sup>46</sup> But the references to the power on these Spanish coinages do not entitle us to conclude that the senate figured as an intermediary in their authorisation; the process may have been purely imitative. On the other hand, it would be equally imprudent to deduce from the absence of the tribunician formula from our non-Spanish issues, and from its rarity even in Spain, that the senate did *not* figure as an intermediary as regards this type of issue;<sup>47</sup> for the cities, especially those too remote or backward to be conscious of Roman procedure, might well have been preoccupied with the fact of the authorisation (PERM·AVG·, PERM·DIVI AVG·, PERM... PRO-COS·) rather than with the medium through which it was promulgated.

These then are the only two permanent *potestates* to which the coin-titulatures of Tiberius bear witness; and neither of them includes *imperium*. In the revolutionary years before 27 B.C. the symbol of the rulers' *imperium* had been the *praenomen Imperatoris*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *FITA*, p. 446, cf. pp. 219, 251.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

<sup>44</sup> *FITA*, p. 446 and n. 2, cf. pp. 99 f., 106, 119, 135, 139, 145.

<sup>45</sup> References in Smith, p. 18, n. 28.

<sup>46</sup> Also the Assembly: Grant, *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 108 ff.

<sup>47</sup> A statement in *FITA*, p. 446, might be thus interpreted as intending such a deduction. See above, p. 31.

<sup>48</sup> *FITA*, pp. 408 ff.

But thenceforward, by way of contrast, that title had ceased to represent the *imperium* and had almost entirely disappeared from the official coinage.<sup>49</sup> It had momentarily reappeared on imperial *aes* near the end of Augustus' life (A.D. 11-12):<sup>50</sup> but its reappearance had apparently been due, not to any connection with his current *imperium* or to any other constitutional reason, but to the past glories of the *princeps*—the *Victoria Augusti*, recalled to memory on the half-centenary of his first *ovatio*.<sup>51</sup> Possibly too there was a desire to distinguish him from his vicegerent Tiberius.<sup>52</sup> The latter, on becoming *princeps*, evidently refused the title,<sup>53</sup> which is only ascribed to him on a single irregular coin-titulature at Calagurris<sup>54</sup> and on unofficial inscriptions,<sup>55</sup> many (though by no means all<sup>56</sup>) of the first part of his reign.<sup>57</sup> These retain his personal *praenomen* also, so that *Imperator*, even on these unofficial issues, figures as a prefix rather than a true *praenomen*.<sup>58</sup>

Thapsus, however, attributes to Tiberius the *cognomen Imperatoris*, followed by a number in the traditional manner (nos. 21-31: Plate II, 9, III, 1-7, IV, 1-3). Carthage, on the other hand (Plate II, 1, 2) describes him by the *cognomen Imperatoris* without number: as is suggested by the equally inaccurate addition of the title *pater patriae*, this too is an unofficial and irregular usage. So also are similar examples on coins of Emerita,<sup>59</sup> Caesaraugusta<sup>60</sup> and

<sup>49</sup> *FITA*, pp. 440 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 50, no. 275.

<sup>51</sup> *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

<sup>52</sup> *FITA*, p. 440.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 415, n. 9, 440, 441, n. 1; von Premerstein, pp. 174, n. 2, 255; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 617, n. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 170 (IMP·CAESAR TI·AVGVVS·DIVI AVGVSTI F·).

<sup>55</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 151, 152, etc.; cf. Smith, p. 23, n. 46 (references); Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 1, 524; Abaecherli, *TAPA*, 1932, p. 267; von Premerstein, p. 256, n. 2. These were due to "carelessness or ignorance," cf. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie*<sup>4</sup>, p. 181, n. 1.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, VIII, p. 110; *RA*, 1914, p. 488, no. 172; cf. Dessau ap. *ILS*, 151; Abaecherli, loc. cit.

<sup>57</sup> Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 769, n. 2; Dessau, loc. cit.

<sup>58</sup> For the distinction cf. *FITA*, pp. 409, 415.

<sup>59</sup> Vives, IV, pp. 66 f.

<sup>60</sup> Vives, IV, p. 84, no. 64.

Tarraco,<sup>61</sup> and on inscriptions.<sup>62</sup> On his official issues—as at Thapsus (nos. 21 ff.: Plate II, 9, III, 1-5, 7, IV, 1) and Antioch in Pisidia (no. 52: Plate V, 15)—Tiberius never used his *cognomen* without salutation number.<sup>63</sup> The unnumbered usage had been a feature of official titulatures in the early thirties B.C.,<sup>64</sup> and was not to return to them until Caligula (exceptionally<sup>65</sup>) and Claudius (regularly<sup>66</sup>). It provided a means of describing emperors who, while not wishing to lay claim to the *praenomen* so closely associated with Augustus, were nevertheless, or wanted to be, the leading *Imperatores* of their time.

The titlature of our coins thus illustrates the recognition of Tiberius as the man with the greatest military record of anyone living.<sup>67</sup> It would not, however, be justifiable to deduce from this any conclusions regarding his *imperium*: for, even on official titulatures of the Augustan period, the *Imperator* title had lacked any such significance. *Praenomen* and *cognomen* alike were purely honorific, and indeed the application of either to Tiberius was contrary to his cautious official policy. A positive record of that policy happens to exist, and it shows that Tiberius, in avoiding such honorary usages, desired the *Imperator* title to be restricted to purely military matters: *αὐτοκράτωρ (imperator) δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τῶν δὲ δὴ λοιπῶν πρόκριτός (princeps) εἰμι*.<sup>68</sup> But centralisation was not so far advanced<sup>69</sup> that he could or would prevent communities outside Rome from deviations; and instances such as our Carthaginian coinage with the unnumbered *cognomen* represent unof-

<sup>61</sup> Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 19.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 155, 161, 2280, 2281, 5829, etc.

<sup>63</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 120 ff., 128 ff.; cf. *ILS*, 113, 152, 156, 160, 164, etc.

<sup>64</sup> *FITA*, pp. 414 f.

<sup>65</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 161, no. 102 (Caesarea in Cappadocia).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the equally irregular *Imp. Perpet.* of Gaulus, *ILS*, 121; Hammond, p. 218, n. 42; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 612, n. 3; Guey, *Journal des Savants*, 1938, p. 74; Momigliano, *JRS*, 1944, p. 114.

<sup>68</sup> Dio 57.8, *FITA*, p. 441.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.



ficial moves to attribute to him the glory which he officially discounted. Such examples abundantly justify the view that, no less and perhaps more than in the principate of Augustus, *Imperator* had become an expression not of *imperium* but of *auctoritas*.<sup>70</sup>

The same is true of the only group of non-Spanish colonial references to a magistracy with *imperium*, namely the consulship. For when Thapsus records a consulate of Tiberius, it alludes to the same fourth consulate under no less than three proconsuls (nos. 24 f., 27, 29 f.: Plate III, 3, 5, 7, IV, 1-2).<sup>71</sup> He held that consulate in A.D. 21, a date in advance of at least one of the governorships in question<sup>72</sup>—the coins of which thus record, not the *imperium* of a current tenure, but the *auctoritas* of a past tenure, of the office which excelled all others in both properties.<sup>73</sup> From a desire to maintain its high *auctoritas*, Tiberius, like Augustus,<sup>74</sup> paid the consulship marked attention and respect;<sup>75</sup> and from a desire—again like Augustus—not to monopolize high *imperium*, he himself used it sparingly.<sup>76</sup>

For, as these titulatures have abundantly shown, *imperium* (like the title *Imperator*) was not intended to play a prominent part in the official presentation of the régime of Tiberius. This was one of the latter's negative aspects, and negative too was his aversion to each of the final names of his predecessor—the abnormal *praenomina*, "Augustus" in the gentile position, and the *cognomen* of *pater*

<sup>70</sup> Cf. de Visscher, *Les Édits d'Auguste découverts à Cyrene*, p. 124; Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224.2, 1946, p. 73; *FITA*, p. 444 and n. 7, cf. pp. 434 ff. Cf. above, p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> The combination of consular title with numbered *cognomen Imperatoris* is rare under Tiberius, but cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 144, no. 174. Equally rare at this time is the precedence of the salutation title, though this was fairly common under Augustus and recurs on the tombstone of Tiberius (*ILS*, 164; cf. Hammond, p. 248, n. 1).

<sup>72</sup> P. Cornelius Dolabella, A.D. 23-24, cf. de Laet, p. 43, no. 129.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 426, and n. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the *Ara Pacis* reliefs, on which he stands between the consuls, de Francisci, *Augustus*, p. 98, n. 5.

<sup>75</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 31, 2, Dio 57, 11; cf. Hohl, *Hermes*, 1933, p. 111. Rogers, p. 78; Groag, *Wiener Studien*, 1929, p. 144; Smith, p. 85, n. 26.

<sup>76</sup> Three times; cf. Balsdon, p. 147, Hammond, p. 86. For the unfortunate character of his consulates see Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935/6, p. 201. He was offered the consulship for himself and Sejanus for five years: Dio 58, 4.

*patriae*. Faithful as Tiberius was to every example left by Augustus, he was nevertheless unwilling to model himself so closely on him as to suggest comparison or rivalry: and in such respects, at least, he may be said to have looked to the Republic.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, overwhelmed by the magnitude of his predecessor, at first he was reluctant to face the *statio principis* at all, at least as a permanent commitment.<sup>78</sup> For he was grimly aware that the *princeps* was called upon to be more than other men were: *maius aliquid et excelsius a principe postulatur*.<sup>79</sup> It remains to be seen what positive means of fulfilling this rôle were available to Tiberius—that is to say, what means his exemplar Augustus had provided for him. And means there were, even to a man who shied at the titlature of Augustus; for Augustus had left more than names and titles.

## (ii) Tiberius and the Proconsuls of Africa

### A. AMICITIA PRINCIPIS AND C. A.D. 21

Two African colonies and perhaps one Sicilian one provide allusions to contemporary proconsuls. The Sicilian colony is Panormus (no. 10: Plate I, 15). This shows the name of P. Silva (or Silvanus) PR., who was, according to a tentative interpretation, a Tiberian proconsul of Sicily, appearing in the capacity of colonial *adsignator* in which Augustan governors, too, had figured on the coinage of Sicilian cities.<sup>80</sup> Here, however, attention will rather be devoted to the coins of the African colonies. One of these cities is Hippo Diarrhytus, which displays the portrait and inscription of L. Aproni-

<sup>77</sup> For the interpretation of Tiberius as a "Republican" see especially Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, p. 269; Syme, RR, pp. 344 f., 408, n. 3, 418, 507; Rogers, TAPA, 1940, pp. 534 f.; Kornemann, SB München, 1947, I, pp. 4, 6 ff. For his choice of friends see references in section ii, subsection A; and for the literary aspect, Bardon, *Les Empereurs et les Lettres Latines d'Auguste à Hadrien*, pp. 108 ff.

<sup>78</sup> Suet., *Tib.*: *miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem*; cf. Syme, RR, p. 344, n. 6; Smith, pp. 33 f.

<sup>79</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, III, 53; cf. Klostermann, *Philologus*, 1932, pp. 365 f.; Charlesworth, JRS, 1943, p. 2.

<sup>80</sup> FITA, pp. 197 f., n. 6; see also below, Appendix 5.

us (A.D. 18-21)<sup>81</sup> (no. 20: Plate II, 8). The other city is Thapsus, which records the *permissus* of the same proconsul (nos. 24-26: Plates III, 3-4, 6, and IV, 2)—in A.D. 21<sup>82</sup>—and subsequently of Q. Junius Blaesus (A.D. 21-23<sup>83</sup>) (nos. 27, 28: Plate III, 7) and P. Cornelius Dolabella (A.D. 23-24<sup>84</sup>) (nos. 29-31: Plates III, 5, IV, 1, 3).

This and the following subsection will endeavour to assess the position of these proconsuls of Africa. Subsection B will discuss their relation to the auspices and *imperium* of Tiberius; but here, first of all, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that they owe their numismatic honours not to any rights or powers but to their friendship with Tiberius, and that it was for certain significant reasons that these honours began when they did.

These issues can only be properly appreciated if they are compared with coinage of the Augustan period; and several important analogies from that period are at hand. For our mintages both of Hippo Diarrhytus and of Thapsus closely imitate precedents from the principate of Augustus. Hippo Diarrhytus had coined with the name and portrait of Africanus Fabius Maximus,<sup>85</sup> and so had Hadrumetum, adding P. Quinctilius Varus and L. Volusius Saturninus,<sup>86</sup> both of whom were also portrayed at *colonia* Achulla.<sup>87</sup> Likewise Simitthu (??), alone among Augustan cities in this respect, had shewn, not the portrait, but the *permissus*, of the last-named proconsul,<sup>88</sup> like Thapsus under Tiberius.

There are further points of coincidence between these Augustan and Tiberian issues of Africa which suggest that the resemblances are not fortuitous. In the first place, the "portrait" coinages under Augustus, to which reference has been made, were clearly contem-

<sup>81</sup> De Laet, p. 26, no. 39.

<sup>82</sup> The third year of his tenure; and COS. IV. (Gelzer, *RE*, X, 506).

<sup>83</sup> De Laet, p. 56, no. 198. No. 27, at least, refers to his second year.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 43, no. 129.

<sup>85</sup> *FITA*, p. 224.

<sup>86</sup> *FITA*, p. 228.

<sup>87</sup> *FITA*, p. 230.

<sup>88</sup> *FITA*, pp. 232 f.

porary with the *permissus* piece, for one proconsul, L. Volusius Saturninus, was common to both: the same applies to the Tiberian issues, for here again a single governor, L. Apronius, appears on both portrait and *permissus* categories. His *permissus* coinage was struck in A.D. 21; thus the same may well apply to his portrait issue also. Moreover, it is likely that Volusius and Apronius, the two proconsuls who are common to the portrait and *permissus* categories, both inaugurated these categories as far as their respective principates are concerned. This is manifestly true of Apronius, and there is some reason to believe that the Augustan issues had commenced in c. 7 B.C., and that the proconsul at the time was Volusius.<sup>89</sup>

But there may be a further similarity between the African issues of Augustus and Tiberius. The former were exactly, or very nearly, contemporary with the first local coinages of Asia to honour proconsuls since 27 B.C.<sup>90</sup> These Asian issues were of Temnus, Pitane and Hierapolis, and the proconsuls were C. Asinius Gallus, P. Cornelius Scipio, and Paullus Fabius Maximus.<sup>91</sup> Our Tiberian mintages of Africa seem likewise to find an almost contemporary parallel in the Asian cities. For, under Tiberius, two of the only three Asian proconsuls who were signalled on Asian coinages (with the difference, in this case, that only their names and not their portraits appear<sup>92</sup>) were Q. Poppaeus Secundus at Pergamum<sup>93</sup> and possibly Tabae,<sup>94</sup> and M. Aemilius Lepidus at Cotiae-

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 228 and n. 7; de Laet, p. 245, ascribes Volusius to c. 8-7 and Varus to c. 7-6. For Africanus Fabius Maximus see recently *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 102, no. 46.

<sup>90</sup> *FITA*, pp. 229, 387, but see next note.

<sup>91</sup> *FITA*, pp. 387 f., but suggesting c. 7-6 B.C. for Scipio and c. 5-4 for Paullus—but Syme attributes the latter to 9-8, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 355 (cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 103, no. 47) to 10-9.

<sup>92</sup> Their names are recorded in the Genitive after EIII; there is a divergence here from the Augustan practice, for, whereas the portraits are honorific, EIII was not yet purely eponymous but implied a measure of executive action; indeed it can to a certain (though a limited) extent be compared with PERMISSV (*FITA*, pp. 398 ff.). Thus in A.D. 21 the compliment to the governors of Asia took rather a different form from the honours of c. 7 B.C.

<sup>93</sup> *BMC, Mysia*, p. 140, no. 251.

<sup>94</sup> See Appendix 9.

um.<sup>96</sup> Poppaeus governed in some year between c. 15 and c. 20,<sup>96</sup> and Aemilius in c. 21-23.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the third and last Asian proconsul to be recorded on coinage in this way under Tiberius, P. Petronius at Pergamum<sup>98</sup> and Smyrna,<sup>99</sup> was not far from contemporary with a fourth and last African proconsul to receive a similar honour, C. Vibius Marsus, whose name appears in the Ablative (or Dative) on issues of *municipium* Utica (Plate VIII, 8-9).<sup>100</sup> For Petronius governed Asia from c. 29/30-c. 34/35,<sup>101</sup> and Vibius Marsus was proconsul of Africa from 27 to 30.<sup>102</sup> Thus the Tiberian issues honouring proconsuls of Africa seem not unrelated with coinages in the other consular senatorial province, Asia;<sup>103</sup> and this provides a further resemblance between the African issues under Tiberius and those under Augustus.

The governors selected by Augustus (or by the cities at a hint from him) for these honours were without exception *amici principis*, and every one of them was related to him<sup>104</sup>—a most important factor in *amicitia*.<sup>105</sup> Thus under Augustus, though there is no question of portrait “rights,”<sup>106</sup> numismatic portraiture and record (including the record of *permissus*)<sup>107</sup> were considered by African and Asian cities—and probably this view originated from a central

<sup>96</sup> *BMC, Phrygia*, p. 163, no. 26.

<sup>96</sup> De Laet, p. 73, no. 302.

<sup>97</sup> De Laet, p. 22, no. 16.

<sup>98</sup> *BMC, Mysia*, p. 39, no. 253.

<sup>99</sup> *BMC, Ionia*, p. 268, no. 266.

<sup>100</sup> Müller, I, pp. 159 ff. See Appendix 2.

<sup>101</sup> De Laet, p. 70, no. 283.

<sup>102</sup> De Laet, p. 92, no. 410.

<sup>103</sup> The Asian issues must have started at least one year earlier than the African ones, but the permissions for them may none the less have been simultaneous.

<sup>104</sup> *FITA*, p. 229, describes five of these governors as his relatives, omitting the marriage of the sixth, C. Asinius Gallus, to Vipsania; Syme, *RR*, pp. 416, 512.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Syme, *RR*, pp. 373, 379; *FITA*, p. 229.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228 (references); Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 130, describes this view as “quite convincing.” So does Fink, *CP*, 1949, p. 258.

<sup>107</sup> Though not the *right* of *permissus*, which was the prerogative of certain consular governorships, see p. 31 and n. 115.

authority—as being chiefly, or indeed exclusively, appropriate to such *amici*. That is to say, either the *princeps* indicated to cities that such a limitation was desirable, or, to look at it from a slightly different angle, the only people whom the cities felt impelled to honour to such an extent were those who had obtained this singular distinction.<sup>108</sup>

*Amicitia principis* (like its complement *inimicitia*<sup>109</sup>) played a considerable part in the principate of Tiberius. Foremost among his friends was Sejanus, *adiutor* and *socius laborum*,<sup>110</sup> linked to the *domus Augusta* by the betrothal of his daughter to the son of Claudius,<sup>111</sup> and honoured on the coinage of Bilbilis<sup>112</sup> and by an *Ara Amicitiae*.<sup>113</sup> Again, Tiberius constituted his *consilium* of his *amici*,<sup>114</sup> and chose his companions at Capri from among them. P. Plautius Pulcher illustrates the tendency by adding to his titles those of *comes* (a word closely linked with *amicus*<sup>115</sup>) of Drusus, the son of Germanicus, and uncle of another Drusus, the son of Claudius.<sup>116</sup> Plautius Pulcher and the rest point the way to the *Plantam Iulium amicum et comitem meum*<sup>117</sup> and *L. Vestinum familiarissime diligo*<sup>118</sup> of Claudian proclamations, and to the *cohors*

<sup>108</sup> For the rôle of *amici principis* at Eastern cities, cf. von Premerstein, pp. 175, 224; Marot, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis*, 13.1, 1939, has traced some Roman and mediaeval developments of *amicitia*.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Tac., *Ann.*, III, 12, *privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar*; VI, 9, *Sex. Vistilius convictu principis prohibitus*; cf. II, 70 (Germanicus) *amicitiam ei renuntiabat*; cf. Augustus and Cornelius Gallus, Syme, *RR*, p. 309.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Smith, p. 119; Rogers, p. 139, and *TAPA*, 1941, p. xlii, etc.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 263. Though his own proposed marriage to Livilla, daughter of Drusus sen., was never finally approved, his daughter's marriage made him *Claudia et Iuliae domus partem* (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 8). See also Addenda.

<sup>112</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>113</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 74 (A.D. 28; but the date is questionable).

<sup>114</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 55; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 408, n. 3, and for a different view of the *consilium* Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 105.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 206 (Claudius): *amicus et comes meus*. Cf. also *ILS*, 946, *comes Ti. Caesaris Aug. datus ab divo Aug.*, showing that the emperor selected (sc. from among his friends) the *comites* of the young princes. For the later development of *comes* see Nock, *JRS*, 1947, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>116</sup> *ILS*, 964, cf. Instinsky, *Philologus*, 1942/3, p. 246.

<sup>117</sup> *ILS*, 206, cf. von Premerstein, p. 224.

<sup>118</sup> *ILS*, 212, cf. von Premerstein, loc. cit.

*primae admissionis* of Seneca.<sup>119</sup> Under Tiberius, however, we are still in a period when the *amici*, though their political "colour" has been much disputed,<sup>120</sup> were most frequently, though not invariably, the great officials and ex-officials.<sup>121</sup>

The six proconsuls honoured on local coins of Asia and Africa under Augustus had all been *amici principis*, and, in view of their various resemblances to our Tiberian governors, it will not now cause surprise if it can be shown that the latter, too, were *amici* of Tiberius. This was, indeed, the case. Every one of the four governors of Africa recorded on Tiberian local coinages was closely connected with Tiberius. P. Cornelius Dolabella, whose description as *vir simplicitatis generosissimae* by the devoted Tiberian Velleius<sup>122</sup> illustrates his favoured status at court, was the grand-nephew of Marcella.<sup>123</sup> Q. Junius Blaesus—who received the signal honour of the last salutation granted to a proconsul<sup>124</sup>—was the uncle of Sejanus,<sup>125</sup> whose friends and relations were, in his lifetime, the friends of the *princeps*.<sup>126</sup> L. Apronius—again *excellenti virtute ac-*

<sup>119</sup> *De Clementia*, I, 10.1, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 385, n. 2. The present writer quotes this phrase in *FITA*, p. 229, but it is very doubtful whether, strictly speaking, it should be applied to the Augustan period there under discussion.

<sup>120</sup> No attempt will be made here to deal with the controversial question as to how far Tiberius' choice of friends represented a reaction from Augustus or an innovation. For aspects of this view see Syme, *RR*, pp. 383, 414, n. 1, 434, 437; Rogers, *TAPA*, 1940, pp. 534 f.; Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, pp. 264, 266 f.; de Laet, p. 276; Cordier, *RPh*, 1943, p. 217. For the view that Tiberius was unfavourable to *nobiles* see de Laet, pp. 251 ff., 261 f., 271 ff.; Ensslin, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1942, p. 1942, p. 481, opposed by Nailis, *AC*, 1942, p. 152; Gelzer, *Gnomon*, 1943, p. 108; Roos, *Museum*, 1942, pp. 200 f.; see also Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 264, n. 2. Balsdon's view, *JRS*, 1932, p. 243, that Tiberius was not particular about ancestry still seems to hold. This problem is sometimes linked with the general question of Tiberius' "Republicanism" (see last section).

<sup>121</sup> To be distinguished from these great *amici* are the "secretaries" of Tiberius who, though—especially later in the reign—of increased numbers and powers (cf. Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 84, 257 ff.) and the forerunners of the "Ministers" of Claudius, are still *clientes* rather than *amici* in the present period (*ibid.*, p. 80).

<sup>122</sup> *II*, 125, 5, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, *II*, p. 319, no. 1348; de Laet, p. 43, no. 129.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 434.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Hammond, pp. 205, 220, n. 74, etc.—the last was that of L. Passienus (also honoured on the coinage) in A.D. c. 3 (Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, cf. *FITA*, pp. 140, 229—the last passage omitting to mention Blaesus).

<sup>125</sup> Vell., *II*, 127; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 437, *PIR*, *II*, 234, 479; de Laet, p. 56, no. 198.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 8: *ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus*.

according to Velleius,<sup>127</sup> and the father of a friend of Sejanus<sup>128</sup>—and C. Vibius Marsus, whose return to Rome with Agrippina<sup>129</sup> indicates a close, if dangerous, relation with the ruling family, were the fathers-in-law respectively of M. Plautius Silvanus, *amicus principis*,<sup>130</sup> and of P. Plautius Pulcher, uncle of one imperial Drusus and *comes* of another. Thus all these four proconsuls of Africa possessed the proper qualifications for *amicitia principis*.

The same is true of the three proconsuls recorded almost simultaneously on city-coinages of the other consular senatorial province, Asia. M. Aemilius Lepidus was not only the confidant of Tiberius, but also the father-in-law of Drusus Germanici f. and a grand-nephew by marriage of Augustus.<sup>131</sup> P. Petronius, a proconsul whose tenure was greatly extended—a signal sign of personal confidence received also by C. Vibius Marsus and L. Apronius<sup>132</sup>—was *vetus convictor Claudii*,<sup>133</sup> and finally, Q. Poppaeus Secundus was the brother of C. Poppaeus Sabinus *amicus principum*,<sup>134</sup> and thus, incidentally, the uncle by marriage of a friend of Sejanus, T. Ollius.<sup>135</sup> Here, again, are three proconsuls who were “friends” of the ruling house; and so were the only Tiberian governors to be mentioned on coinages in the senatorial provinces of Bithynia and Creta-Cyrenaica.<sup>136</sup>

This very C. Poppaeus Sabinus, *legatus Augusti propraetore* of the whole Balkan province,<sup>137</sup> provides striking evidence for the association of these numismatic honours, and especially of portrai-

<sup>127</sup> Vell., II, 116, cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 188, no. 971; de Laet, p. 26, no. 39.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Marsh, p. 190 (L. Apronius Caesianus).

<sup>129</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, II, 79; for his importance cf. Marsh, p. 217.

<sup>130</sup> Von Rohden, *RE*, II, 1, 273 f.; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 422; *FITA*, p. 229 and n. 11 and p. 388; Instinsky, *Philologus*, 1942/3, p. 245.

<sup>131</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 40; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 438, n. 1; *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 61, no. 369.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. de Laet, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 14, cf. *PIR*, III, p. 26, no. 198; de Laet, p. 70, no. 283.

<sup>134</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 39; cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 499 and n. 1, *PIR*, III, p. 86, nos. 627, 628.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Smith, p. 152.

<sup>136</sup> P. Vitellius and Cornelius Lupus (*amicus Claudii*): see Appendix 9.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 397, Groag, *Schriften der Balkankommission*, *Ant. Abt.*, IX, 1939, p. 24, Stein, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, I, 11, 1940, pp. 18 ff.



ture such as that of L. Apronius, with the imperial *amicitia*. For Sabinus too was given a coin-portrait, but at a peregrine city, namely Aegina.<sup>188</sup> Just as L. Apronius was the only Tiberian governor to be portrayed by a colony, so Sabinus was apparently the only one to be represented on the coinage of a peregrine city. This unusual honour was fitting, since his tenure of his vast province was the longest even of this reign of long tenures: but it further confirms the view that, as under Augustus, the passport to numismatic honours of this kind was *amicitia principis*. The cities were not slow to appreciate the direction of imperial honour,<sup>189</sup> and indeed Hippo Diarrhytus, which honours L. Apronius, had been one of the earliest "backers" of Tiberius himself.<sup>140</sup>

Nor is this characteristic of *amicitia principis* the last of the features which the issues with governors' names and portraits under Tiberius share with those under Augustus. The Augustan portraits and mentions of African and Asian proconsuls had apparently started in c. 7 B.C., at a time when there was special need of the *amici*. For Agrippa and Nero Drusus were dead; new men were needed to fill the consular posts and, especially, to help ensure the succession for C. Caesar. This was apparently the moment chosen by Augustus for the numismatic celebration of his *amici*. Now, in A.D. 21, the date to which has been ascribed the recurrence of this phenomenon in Africa (following shortly upon Asia) under Tiberius, the *princeps* was again sponsoring a new successor of his own blood, just as Augustus had been in 7 B.C. For Germanicus was dead, and Drusus junior was just beginning to receive greater honours than either he or Germanicus had received while both were alive.<sup>141</sup> It was natural for Tiberius, following as usual the precedent of Au-

<sup>188</sup> See Appendix 9.

<sup>189</sup> Moreover, our African proconsuls, at least, enjoyed an unusual position owing to their conduct of the war against Tacfarinas. On their special selection and its possible influence on the *auspicia*, see below, p. 60, n. 155, p. 70, n. 224.

<sup>140</sup> *FITA*, p. 224.

<sup>141</sup> See below, Chapter III, section ii. For the *ovatio* of Drusus see Rohde, *RE*, XVIII, 2, 1902.

gustus, to choose this moment to allow cities to emphasize his reliance on his *amici* as supporters of the dynasty; and indeed the position of his special *amicus* and *socius laborum*, Sejanus, had just received new definition.<sup>142</sup>

Tiberius' imitation of the precedent of 7 B.C. is also noteworthy in that, at that date, he himself had just been passed over for the inheritance, and was no doubt already contemplating his retirement in the following year. But, in retrospect, Tiberius was quite open about the special position of Gaius and Lucius. For they still received numismatic honours from cities in his reign;<sup>143</sup> and Vel-leius is no less frank about their preferred status<sup>144</sup> (though he tries to ascribe this to the modesty of Tiberius<sup>145</sup>) than is the *Monumentum Ancyranum* itself.<sup>146</sup> It was characteristic of Tiberius to follow the Augustan precedent with grim perseverance despite the unhappy features that it had possessed for himself;<sup>147</sup> indeed its revival by him may have been part of an attempt to show the public that the theme held no embarrassment for him.

A further point stresses still further the legitimacy of the comparison between the issues inaugurated in c. 7 B.C. and those starting in A.D. c. 21. It has been argued elsewhere that the former, with the important development of the principate that they imply, had been timed to coincide with the *vicennium* of the "restoration of the Republic" in 27 B.C.<sup>148</sup> But A.D. 20-21 was equally one of the greatest anniversary years of the epoch: for it witnessed the half-

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Rogers, p. 139.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. *FITA*, p. 363 (Pergamum: *BMC, Mysia*, p. 140, no. 250). The same may apply to certain issues for Gaius at other cities also (*FITA*, p. 471).

<sup>144</sup> II, 96. On the Magliano (Heba) Tablet, 1.5 (NS, 1948, pp. 49 ff.), they are called *fratr. Ti. Caesaris Aug.*

<sup>145</sup> II, 103.

<sup>146</sup> RG, 14.

<sup>147</sup> The present writer, as he hopes to explain elsewhere, does not accept the theory of Gruenwald, *Die römischen Bronze- und Kupfermünzen mit Schlagmarken im Legionslager Vindonissa*, cf. Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 80, that the retirement of Tiberius is shown by countermarks to have been accompanied by some sort of political disturbance among the troops.

<sup>148</sup> *RAI*, Chapter II, section ii.

centenaries of Actium and the capture of Egypt. There is strong reason to believe that major official coinages of Tiberius commemorated this very occasion;<sup>149</sup> so too, in all probability, does our issue of Sinope (no. 53: Plate V, 16), dated to A.D. 19-20. Nor are such commemorations surprising when it is appreciated that anniversaries of Actium and the capture of Egypt were to continue to receive numismatic celebration for centuries to come.<sup>150</sup>

We may conclude, then, that Tiberius, with close attention to an Augustan precedent, selected this great Augustan anniversary to authorise, or to allow, Roman colonies in Africa to honour his friends who were governors of that province. This honour took the form of a record of their *permissus*, and in the first instance, of portrayal. Moreover, it may well have been as a result of a similar authorisation that the peregrine cities of Asia—the only other consular senatorial province—began a little earlier to record their proconsuls also; and the latter too were all *amici principis*. The coins of these Asian cities were of course Greek. Indeed, outside Africa, only one Tiberian governor has a *permissus* recorded on a Latin coinage.<sup>151</sup> This was another consular, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus Augusti propraetore* in Syria<sup>152</sup>—yet again an *amicus principis*.<sup>153</sup>

## B. THE AUSPICES OF TIBERIUS

The last subsection has endeavoured to show that the proconsuls of Africa, L. Apronius and the rest, were linked to Tiberius by the powerful bond of *amicitia*. It remains, however, to consider their *official* relationship with him. The present coinage is not informative regarding this matter, which will however be discussed here since it is vital for an understanding of their position.

<sup>149</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii.

<sup>150</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VIII, section i (summary).

<sup>151</sup> For this right in regard to colonial coinage is a prerogative of consular governors of both sorts of province, see above, p. 31 and n. 115.

<sup>152</sup> *FITA*, p. 260; cf. below, Appendix 9.

<sup>153</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 10, no. 64; his daughter Junia was betrothed to Nero Germanici f.

This discussion will be divided into three parts. First, it will be confirmed that these senior proconsuls governed and fought under the auspices of Tiberius. Secondly, it will be argued that these auspices were not, in so far as they affected Africa (the one senatorial province still to possess an army<sup>154</sup>), linked with an *imperium* relating to that same sphere. Thirdly, it will be concluded that, in such a territory, their link was rather with the religious ideas represented by the name "Augustus" and its quality *auctoritas*.

As regards the first of these points,<sup>155</sup> there is both epigraphic and literary evidence in favour of the view that the consulars who were proconsuls of Africa, despite the *auctoritas* which enabled them to authorise local coinages,<sup>156</sup> operated under the auspices of the *princeps*. Thus Velleius Paterculus, describing the war fought by our present governors against Tacfarinas, writes: *bellum Africum . . . auspiciis consiliisque eius (sc. Ti. Caesaris Augusti) brevi sepultum est*.<sup>157</sup> *Brevi* is too flattering, but a contemporary historian like Velleius, who presented the official view, was not very likely to say that the *auspicia* for these campaigns belonged to Tiberius unless this was so.<sup>158</sup> (Moreover an inscription describes the latest previous victories in Africa, those of A.D. c. 6, as *auspiciis Imp. Caesaris Aug. pontificis maximi patris patriae, ductu Cossi Lentuli*.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Until A.D. 38 (M. Junius Silanus), cf. Hammond, p. 230, n. 10. In this respect the parallel with Asia cannot be maintained. In a large part of the reign of Augustus, however, though not under Tiberius, the proconsul of Macedonia still possessed troops, cf. now Syme, *JRS*, 1945, p. 110. This is still often ignored, e.g. by Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, XLIV, 2, 1940 (see Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 155); and Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 92, wrongly talks of an imperial "monopoly" of the army from the outset.

<sup>155</sup> It does not seem possible to distinguish between auspices for peace and auspices for war, cf. Wissowa, *RE*, 2, 2584; though it is possible that the question arose in an acute form because this was now the only senatorial province in which wars were waged, and it is even conceivable that the imperial auspices were particularly involved in the appointments of proconsuls for such purposes *extra ordinem auctoritate principis* (cf. Smith, pp. 184 ff.), as seems to be implied by *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 334. Cf. n. 224.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. above, p. 31 and n. 115, p. 59.

<sup>157</sup> II, 129.

<sup>158</sup> Metaphorical usages of *auspicor* which begin to appear at this time do not seem relevant to the present case since they are concerned with initiation, and particularly the initiation of a career or office, e.g. Vell., II, 101, *quem militiae gradum ante . . . auspicatus*, cf. Sen., *Ep.*, 47, 10.

<sup>159</sup> *AE*, 1940, no. 68; *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 333, no. 1380; Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156.

It may be possible to compare the status of Cossus Cornelius Lentulus with that of the Tiberian proconsuls; for Tiberius is unlikely to have harnessed his senior governors with any constitutional limitation not existing in the last years of Augustus.<sup>160</sup> There is, however, no absolute proof that Cossus Lentulus was a proconsul, and the present writer has elsewhere favoured the view that he was rather *legatus Augusti propraetore*, on the assumption that the province was transferred temporarily to the *princeps*;<sup>161</sup> but Syme considers Cossus Lentulus to have been proconsul of Africa.<sup>162</sup> Now the governors who are described by Velleius as fighting under the auspices of Tiberius were certainly proconsuls and not *legati*,<sup>163</sup> so that it may be concluded that, at this period at least, proconsuls of Africa operated under the auspices of the *princeps*.

The superiority of the *auspicia principis* might indicate either that the proconsuls possessed some form of *auspicia minora*,<sup>164</sup> i.e. *minora vis-à-vis* the *princeps*, or that they possessed no *auspicio* at all. Great vicegerents like Germanicus and Drusus, at least while operating in the West,<sup>165</sup> seem to have possessed a sort of *auspicia minora*,<sup>166</sup> but even if this were certain it would prove nothing as regards the ordinary proconsuls: for the vicegerents in the West had started to rise above the proconsuls ever since the former had

<sup>160</sup> Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156; cf. Hammond, p. 232, n. 31.

<sup>161</sup> *FITA*, p. 143.

<sup>162</sup> *RR*, p. 435, n. 9; *JRS*, 1946, p. 156; *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 334.

<sup>163</sup> Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, XLIV, 2, 1940, pp. 23, 32, 85, attempts to assimilate the two categories of official from the earliest imperial period, but this is wrong: cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 155, "the legal disparity between a proconsul and a legate of Augustus is clear and fundamental."

<sup>164</sup> *Auspicia minora* in the proper sense were the auspices belonging to magistrates other than the consuls, praetors and censors, who possessed *auspicia maiora* (cf. Messalla, *De Auspiciis*, ap. Gell., XIII, 15, 4, Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583). But the proconsuls, as counterparts of consuls, were too senior to have these *auspicia minora* (unless the original sense was modified). However, there were also differences of grade even within the *auspicia maiora* (Val. Max. II, 8, 2, Messalla, Wissowa, 11.cc.). For the *auspicia maiora* see also Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 285, and especially Hägerström, pp. 8, 10 f.

<sup>165</sup> For the position of the vicegerents see Appendix 10, p. 166.

<sup>166</sup> See Appendix 10. But not, apparently, ordinary *legati Augusti pro praetore*: cf. Pease, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 126.

begun to receive the *triumphalia ornamenta* (probably in 20 B.C.),<sup>167</sup> salutations and even triumphs (9 B.C.),<sup>168</sup> which the latter did not obtain after 19 B.C.<sup>169</sup> Thus the possession by the Western vicegerents of the *auspicia minora* would not imply that the proconsuls possessed them too, and the latter question must be left open.

If, however, Augustus allowed these proconsuls no auspices at all, he had Republican precedents. For in the late Republic, as Cicero informs us—if not earlier<sup>170</sup>—*auspicatio* had become so neglected that even wars were fought by proconsuls and propraeors *qui auspicia non habent*,<sup>171</sup> that is to say, by governors operating without having taken, and thus without having, the auspices.<sup>172</sup> A Republican and ritualist like Augustus, who devoted special attention to the college of augurs,<sup>173</sup> was by no means the man to condone carelessness; but the fact that it had occurred, and that proconsuls had become accustomed to lack the auspices, made it easier for the omission to continue. So his proconsuls may not only have been under his superior auspices, but may—though this cannot be considered certain—have entirely lacked *auspicatio* themselves.

However, by Republican practice, if they lacked *auspicatio*, it was right for someone else to take it on their behalf: as Cicero tells us, technically speaking (in the old days) “nothing” had been done without the auspices.<sup>174</sup> It is not at all astonishing that Augustus should have emphasised this characteristic feature of *mos mai-*

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, pp. 134 f.; for the *ornamenta* see Borszák, *RE*, XVIII, 1, 1121 f.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 429 and nn. 9, 10 (Tiberius and Nero Drusus)—after refusals in c. 12 B.C.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, etc. (L. Cornelius Balbus).

<sup>170</sup> This seems to be implied by Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 152.

<sup>171</sup> *De Divinatione*, II, 76; cf. *De Natura Deorum*, II, 3, 9, and Mommsen, *St. R.*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 101, n. 1, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 2 ff.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583, doubting Mommsen's view (*St. R.*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 92, and n. 1) that, despite the passages of Cicero, promagistrates “automatically” possessed the auspices. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 3, quotes Servius, *Aen.*, II, 178, regarding *ad hoc* measures that were sometimes taken to hold *auspicatio* abroad instead of, as was proper, on the Capitol.

<sup>173</sup> See now Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>174</sup> *De Divinatione*, I, 3.

orum,<sup>175</sup> and the words attributed to Ap. Claudius by Livy, who interpreted so much of Augustan official thought, convey the same suggestion—*auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?*<sup>176</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that mention of the *auspicia* should occur on an Augustan inscription and in Tiberian literature. But since the proconsuls lacked them or only possessed *auspicia minora*, to whom should the responsibility fall? As regards Republican precedent, Cicero answers this question rather vaguely. In such circumstances, he says, *ab urbanis retenta videtur*.<sup>177</sup> In the Republic, in such circumstances, the *urbani* could variously be interpreted as the Roman people or as the senate; for while we read (in spite of the patrician origin of the institution<sup>178</sup>) *a populo auspicia accepta habemus*,<sup>179</sup> we also hear of circumstances in which the *auspicia* belonged, or returned, to the senate,<sup>180</sup> with which they are closely linked by Cicero as the *duo firmamenta* of the State of Romulus.<sup>181</sup> But here we find that our African proconsuls of the early principate present an innovation. For, even if they lacked *auspicatio* altogether, there is no question of the auspices returning to the senate or people, since they are demonstrably operating under the auspices of the *princeps*; and that, it is clear, is the answer to the first of the three questions with which it is the aim of this discussion to deal.

The second question relates to the *imperium*,<sup>182</sup> and it will be

<sup>175</sup> For list of references to this, see H. Volkmann, *Mos maiorum als Grundzug des augusteischen Prinzipats* (*Das Neue Bild der Antike*, II).

<sup>176</sup> VI, 41.

<sup>177</sup> *De Divinatione*, II, 77.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Greenidge, p. 40, n. 1.

<sup>179</sup> Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 77; cf. Hägerström, p. 11, on Livy, VII.6.10.

<sup>180</sup> Cicero, *De Legibus*, III, 9; cf. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions*, p. 100, Mommsen, *St. R.*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 90.

<sup>181</sup> *De Republica*, II, 17. Here the question of "transmission" from a predecessor, stressed by Homo, op. cit., p. 34, does not arise.

<sup>182</sup> For a theory of the nature of *imperium* see now Wagenvoort, *Imperium* (cf. *Roman Dynamism*) and reviews, e.g. *Museum*, 1942, p. 214; *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1942/3, p. 58; *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1942, p. 930; *Gnomon*, 1943, p.

suggested here that the *auspicia*, by which Tiberius was superior to the proconsuls of Africa, were not linked with an *imperium* relating to the same area. The possession of these auspices by the *princeps* does not automatically prove an *imperium maius* in relation to the said proconsuls. Such an assumption would require too facile an assimilation of *auspicia* and *imperium*. When Greenidge wrote "the *imperium* and *auspicia* are indissolubly connected,"<sup>183</sup> his words might be held to imply, first, that some original link had existed between them, secondly, that the one could not exist without the other, and, thirdly, that a man operating under another's auspices was necessarily also operating under his *imperium*. But the two last of these implications may not have been intended,<sup>184</sup> and in any case, none of them may be legitimate. For, in the first place, an original link between the *ius magistratus* and *ius auspiciorum* is not yet proved.<sup>185</sup> Secondly, certain magistrates, who did not possess *imperium*, none the less had the auspices<sup>186</sup>—notably the censors.<sup>187</sup> Conversely we know, from a passage of Cicero that has already been quoted, of possessors of *imperium*, proconsuls and propraetors, *qui auspicia non habent* (in rather the same way as a magistrate who was appointed on a *dies nefastus* remained, technically speaking, none the less a magistrate).<sup>188</sup> Neither *imperium* nor *auspicatio* were, in practice, unable to apply to a given area without the other. It is true that Augustus and Tiberius originally obtained the auspices in connection with their *imperium*, but it

204; *RPh*, 1943, p. 99; *AC*, 1942; *Egyetemes Phil. Közlöny*, 1943, p. 253; see also Heuss, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>183</sup> P. 162.

<sup>184</sup> Thus Greenidge himself qualifies his statement later, p. 165.

<sup>185</sup> Ericsson, *ARW*, 1936, p. 302, against Hägerström, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>186</sup> Gag , *RH*, 1933, p. 3; Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 2 ff.; Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2, 2583.

<sup>187</sup> Mommsen, *St. R.*, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 92, cf. Hägerström, p. 11. The same may apply also to the *pontifex maximus*, if Mommsen, *ibid.* and *op. cit.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 20, is right (as Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2584, doubts) in ascribing to him the auspices; for he did not possess the *imperium*, Rosenberg, *RE*, IX, 1207, against Mommsen, 11.cc.

<sup>188</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, VI, 30, cf. Hägerström, p. 5. For the connection of *nefastus* with augural procedure, see *Fragm. XII Tab. ap. Cic., De Legibus*, II, 8.



does not follow that the scope of the two properties remained co-terminous.<sup>189</sup> The possession, therefore, by Augustus and Tiberius of auspices comprising Africa does not necessarily warrant the conclusion that the same province was comprised in their *imperium* also. It would be equally dangerous to deduce subordination to an *imperium maius* from the lack of auspices,<sup>190</sup> or possession of inferior auspices, by the Augustan and Tiberian proconsuls; the more so since *maius* and *minus* do not mean the same when applied to *imperium* as they do when applied to the auspices. Mention has already been made of the *auspicia maiora* and *minora*;<sup>191</sup> and, without the intrusion of prejudice based on the scope of the auspices of Augustus and Tiberius, something will now be said about the term *imperium maius* as applied to their relation to proconsuls.

It has been customary to believe in the existence of such an *imperium maius*; but the present writer has opposed the view that Augustus possessed such a power.<sup>192</sup> Last,<sup>193</sup> commenting on this approach, distinguishes between two types of *imperium maius*.<sup>194</sup> He describes as Type B ("active") "cases where, in the presence of an *imperium maius*, holders of *imperia minora* were relieved of the ultimate responsibility for their official acts and where this responsibility passed to the holder of the *maius imperium*, under whose general direction they were now placed." He agrees that, from 27 B.C., Augustus had no such power. That is to say, he did not control his proconsuls in the same active sense as Caesar, Brutus and the

<sup>189</sup> It remains, no doubt, technically true that the *auspicia* should have been an indispensable precondition of *imperium*, cf. Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 7; as in early times, Livy, IV, 7, VIII, 23, cf. Ericsson, *ARW*, 1936, pp. 299 f.

<sup>190</sup> Rightly enough, no one has attempted to deduce from Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 76, that he is only referring to those promagistrates who served under someone else's *imperium maius*. See above, p. 62 and n. 171.

<sup>191</sup> The material is collected by Hägerström, pp. 8, 10 f.

<sup>192</sup> *FITA*, pp. 424 ff. This question is further discussed in *SWC*.

<sup>193</sup> *JRS*, 1947, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>194</sup> In *SWC* it is suggested that a criticism of the present writer's terminology in this respect by Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 132 (cf., more mildly—"légères réserves"—de Laet, *AC*, 1946, p. 373, Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 116) is only justified in that a distinction should be made between two main types as by Last (or perhaps more than two).

triumvirs had controlled theirs; and Tiberius was even more careful that this should be clear.<sup>195</sup>

There remains Last's Type A ("passive") of *imperium maius*. An example of this category is the relationship of the *imperia* of a consul and a praetor. "This sort of relation . . . is one which, though it gave to the holder of the former the right to impose his will on the holder of the latter, did not imply that these two normally had any official dealings with one another and did not place any responsibility on the one for the acts of the other, but merely served to eliminate, if ever the two did come into contact, the danger of deadlock through the opposition of two equal constitutional forces."<sup>196</sup> Last does not feel that the present writer has proved that the *princeps* lacked this weaker or "passive" version of *imperium maius* in his dealings with proconsuls. He does not make an assertion to the contrary, but leaves the question open.<sup>197</sup> Here it will only be observed, in parenthesis, that a kindred doctrine (in regard to the same period) to that of the *imperium maius* in senatorial provinces, namely the no less established belief in the *imperium maius* of Augustus vis-à-vis the great vicegerents in the East, has received opposition which needs to be seriously considered and may prove conclusive.<sup>198</sup> However, this is not the place to discuss the latter question

<sup>195</sup> He allowed the proconsul Q. Junius Blaesus a salutation (cf. Hammond, pp. 205, 220, n. 74), and was not averse to proconsuls granting *dona militaria* (Tac., *Ann.*, III, 21, cf. Hammond, p. 232, n. 31, Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156). The dealings of Tiberius with the proconsuls of Africa do not prove *imperium maius*, Smith, p. 184, n. 7, cf. McFayden, *CP*, 1921, p. 40. The point of Tacitus' sneer *iussa principis magis quam incerta belli metuens* (*Ann.*, IV, 23) might well point in the opposite direction, cf. *FITA*, p. 441.

<sup>196</sup> In a sense such distinctions could be made even between officials of the same rank; e.g. Festus *praetores maiores et minores . . . ad vim imperii*, cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 266, n. 2.

<sup>197</sup> Op. cit., p. 163: "about these conclusions every student must form his own judgment for himself."

<sup>198</sup> Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 15 (as regards Agrippa), and (more generally) Magdelain, pp. 73 f., believe that their *imperium* was not "secondary" but equal to his, and that he was their superior only in *auctoritas*. The present writer, in *FITA*, pp. 427, 429, 445, had in one respect come to a similar conclusion, in that he did not believe these vicegerents either to be proconsuls subordinated by *imperium maius*, or to subordinate proconsuls by an *imperium maius* of their own; but he suggested instead that they were *legati Augusti propraetore* and that all areas in their control temporarily formed part of the imperial *provincia*.

—though, as regards the principate of Tiberius, the position of Germanicus needs careful consideration<sup>199</sup>—and equally no attempt will be made to answer Last's query about the relationship of the *princeps* to ordinary proconsuls; since for the present purpose his agreement that there was no "active" (Type B) *imperium maius* is enough.

For the alternative kind of *imperium maius*, the "passive" (Type A) variety, if it existed, could not have been enough to justify the *auspicio* of the *princeps* in regard to the proconsuls of Africa. For it cannot be said that possession of the auspices, under which another man is acting, "did not place any responsibility on the one for the acts of the other." On the contrary, the *auspicator*, as Augustus had been careful to insist in regard to M. Licinius Crassus,<sup>200</sup> was directly responsible for the acts of those operating under his *auspicio*.<sup>201</sup> But the *imperium* of Augustus and Tiberius in relation to Africa, since no more than "Type A," cannot have comprised so high a degree of subordination; so the answer to the second question posed in this discussion is that this *imperium* was not the power on which their auspices in regard to that province were based.<sup>202</sup> In this as in other respects, in modern times, the *imperium* of the early principate has been over-estimated, not of course in regard to the threat which underlay it, but as an ingredient of the constitutional adjustments of 27 and 23 B.C. on which the systems of Augustus and Tiberius were founded.<sup>203</sup> Augustus himself made no

<sup>199</sup> See Appendix 10.

<sup>200</sup> Dio 51, 25, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 308, n. 2; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 125; von Premerstein, p. 253; and especially Groag, *RE*, 13 (58), 270 ff.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *RE*, II, 2583.

<sup>202</sup> In *SWC* it is similarly argued that the "passive" version of *imperium maius*, if this is what Augustus possessed, can scarcely have been potent enough to constitute the legal basis for official gold and silver coinage in a senatorial province.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 424 ff., Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 112 (*procos. imp.* "ist . . . als wesentliches Element des Prinzipates abzulehnen"), de Laet, *AC*, 1943, pp. 150 ff. (of Siber), etc.; de Laet, *ibid.*, 1946, pp. 371 ff., considers that the present writer errs in the opposite direction, but for reasons contested in *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 102 ff., 104 ff. Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 115, is rightly representing a view of part of the Roman public, but presumably not that of the governing class, when he suggests that, as early as Augustus, the distinction between action by one power or another "must often have been a vaporous one."

such mistake when, with his usual adherence to formal truth rather than to concealed sanctions of force, he made no mention whatever of *imperium* in connection with these two occasions.<sup>204</sup>

For they were principally concerned with quite other ideas; and these bring us to our third question, namely the real character of the imperial auspices in regard to Africa. The chief feature of the second reform, that of 23 B.C., had nothing to do with *imperium*, but was the completion of executive machinery (tribunician power) enabling the *princeps*, now no longer consul, to exercise his *auctoritas* in the senate.<sup>205</sup> This connection with *auctoritas* links the reform of 23 B.C. with that of 27 B.C.,<sup>206</sup> in which the *princeps*, by resigning from the consulship, may be said to have terminated over twenty years of autocratic military commands and established a façade of *auctoritas*.<sup>207</sup> The central symbol of the change of 27 B.C. had been the conferment of the name "Augustus,"<sup>208</sup> a word which is so closely linked with *auctoritas* in language and meaning that Magdelain, with much plausibility, stresses that the former was in a sense the titular expression of the latter.<sup>209</sup> Thus it became the symbol of the new régime, just as in the preceding years the *praenomen Imperatoris* (now of changed significance<sup>210</sup>) had been the

<sup>204</sup> *RG*, 1, only refers to the original conferment of 43 B.C.; cf. *FITA*, p. 418, etc. *Imperium* was not everything: the senior augurs took precedence over its holders, cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 253, and n. 3. See also Addenda.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 446 ff.; favourably received by most reviewers, cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsection C. Instinsky, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*, I, 1947, wrongly ascribes to the present writer the description of the tribunician power "als einen Ausfluss der *auctoritas*."

<sup>206</sup> Vallejo, *Emerita*, 1946, pp. 406 f., while agreeing with the other constitutional conclusions of *FITA*, doubts its interpretation of the years 27-23 B.C.

<sup>207</sup> For the erroneous beliefs that this became a legalised institution or magistracy or source of law in 27 B.C. or A.D. 13, see *FITA*, p. 426, *Greece and Rome*, loc. cit., p. 112, n. 2.

<sup>208</sup> This did not constitute a legalised institution or magistracy, *FITA*, p. xvi, against Staedler, *Sav. Z.*, 1941, pp. 101 ff., 119. It was only "legalised" in so far as (according to Velleius, II, 91, 1, Dio 53, 16, 6—though not *RG*, 34, which only refers to the *senatusconsultum*, which was still an *auctoritas* and not a source of law) it was a name conferred on Augustus by the Roman people (cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 130, n. 2).

<sup>209</sup> Pp. 60-63. One of a number of brief earlier expressions of the same idea is that of Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 164, n. 5. For other recent discussions of the name see Wagenvoort, pp. 12 ff., and especially Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, pp. 65 ff.; for some other references *FITA*, p. 444, n. 5.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. above, p. 47.

titular expression and symbol of the previous régime of autocratic *imperium maius infinitum*.<sup>211</sup> Thus "Augustus" and *auctoritas* were the formulae of the new order.

Now certain Roman authorities, bearing in mind the kinship of these words with *augurium*<sup>212</sup> (another conception much stressed by the *princeps*<sup>213</sup> and indeed closely linked with his rôle<sup>214</sup>) believed—though wrongly—that a close etymological connection likewise existed between "Augustus," and a word already almost synonymous with augury,<sup>215</sup> namely *auspicium*.<sup>216</sup> Thus Festus wrote (perhaps in the second century) *augustus locus sanctus, ab avium gestu . . . sive ab avium gust[at]u*.<sup>217</sup> Suetonius, too, or his scholiast, describes the name "Augustus" as follows: *quod loca . . . in quibus augurato quid consecratur augusta dicantur, ab auctu vel ab avium gestu gustuve*,<sup>218</sup> etc.—the latter suggestion, like that of Festus, wrongly comparing "Augustus" with the root *avi-* of *auspicium*.

Now etymology, accurate or otherwise, was very fashionable and influential under the first *princeps*; and Festus, indeed, goes back to the most learned of Augustan scholars, Verrius Flaccus, the tutor of the *domus principis* itself. Thus it seems to the present writer that this false etymology, linking the *auspicia* with the very bases of the Augustan régime, explains the official origins of the imperial auspices in regard to territories for which active *imperium maius* was lacking. The believed connection "Augustus"—*auspicium* indicates that the *princeps* could be considered the holder of the

<sup>211</sup> *FITA*, pp. 411 ff.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 483, *FITA*, p. 425, n. 14, Heuss, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, p. 83, n. 57, "Vermehrungsritualisten," etc. Rival etymologies of "Augustus" are quoted there, cf. also A. E. Glauning, *Festschrift für O. Glauning*, p. 58, n. 1, Wagenvoort, p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>213</sup> See now Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>214</sup> Magdelain, p. 59, n. 3, is unwilling to accept this view (stressed by Muller and Gagé) except in the vaguer sense of a common venerability "abstraction faite de toute nuance augurale plus précise"; but this is an underestimate.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 285, n. 5, Wagenvoort, p. 38.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, p. 5.

<sup>217</sup> P. 93 (L.) (Paul. Diac.), cf. Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>218</sup> Suet., *Aug.*, 7, cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, pp. 139, n. 1, 157, Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 25. See also Addenda.

*auspicia* (not necessarily any longer coterminous with the *imperium*) in an entirely special sense comparable to the unique quality of his name "Augustus." It was inferred that the full auspical authority of Romulus, originator of *auspicatio*,<sup>219</sup> greatly in vogue after Actium,<sup>220</sup> and returned to him;<sup>221</sup> and Gagé rightly concludes not only that the auspices were a most prominent feature of the *statio principis*, but, without speaking of *imperium*, that "son droit d'auspication s'étend . . . à l'empire."<sup>222</sup> Nock comments on this development as follows: "The fact that subordinates fought under his (sc. an emperor's) *auspicia*, not their own, may well have implied from early in the principate that the ruler was credited with potentialities operating beyond the range of his presence and even of his directives."<sup>223</sup> That is no way of describing *imperium*, but refers to the religious ideas underlying the new system. The "potentialities" were those inherent in the régime of *auctoritas* expressed and sanctified by the name "Augustus"; and it seems that by the time of Tiberius, the imperial auspices based on these ideas had come, regardless of any geographical limitations of his *imperium* with which they had first of all been associated, to extend their validity even to African proconsuls such as those who are mentioned on our coinages.<sup>224</sup> This idea of the auspices may have become clarified after the Parthian "success" of 20 B.C.; and from 12 B.C. onwards

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1931, p. 96, n. 1, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 5, n. 2. But, "Numa" invented the *auspicia maiora* and the *augurium Salutis*; cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 285, 298 and section iv, subsection A.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. von Premerstein, p. 11 (whose Augustan interpretation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is, however, doubted by Kahrstedt, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1938, p. 6); Kornemann, *Klio*, 1938, p. 82, id., *Bericht über den IV. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie in 1939*, p. 471; Borszák, *Archivum Philologicum*, 1943, pp. 180 f.; *FITA*, p. 424.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, p. 164, Levi, *RRIL*, 1938, *Estr.*, p. 17, and n. 13.

<sup>222</sup> *MAH*, 1930, p. 167, cf. *RH*, 1933, p. 33.

<sup>223</sup> *JRS*, 1947, p. 114.

<sup>224</sup> This is relevant to the possibility (see n. 155) that the influence of the imperial auspices over Cossus Cornelius Lentulus may be due to his appointment *extra ordinem*: for actions *extra ordinem* were *auctoritate principis* (cf. von Premerstein, pp. 107 ff.), as is specifically stated in the appointment of one of our Tiberian proconsuls Junius Blaesus, Tac., *Ann.*, III, 35 (*nominatio* of two candidates; cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 644).

the religious authority of the *princeps* was formally enhanced by the high-priesthood<sup>225</sup>—of which the emblems are prominently displayed, in connection with the *princeps*, on one of the coins honouring proconsuls (no. 20: Plate II, 7).<sup>226</sup>

But though the important features of the imperial auspices seem traceable to the principate of Augustus, there is every reason to suppose that they were maintained by Tiberius. He was accustomed to maintaining Augustan institutions; he also paid scrupulous attention to religious custom and ritual.<sup>227</sup> In particular, there is evidence indicating his attention to *auspicatio*. He took his own augurate seriously,<sup>228</sup> and the same title often figures after the name of Germanicus,<sup>229</sup> whom he sharply reminded of augural taboo.<sup>230</sup> In the absence of Tiberius his deputy in the high-priesthood was Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the *augur maximus*.<sup>231</sup> Also, as part of a general interest in the Trojan myth,<sup>232</sup> Tiberius continued the Augustan attention to Romulus, whose picture, together with that of Aeneas,<sup>233</sup> was probably placed in the new temple of Divus Augustus,<sup>234</sup> as well as being carried at the funeral of Drusus junior.<sup>235</sup> There was no danger of the imperial *auspicia* no longer being taken seriously;<sup>236</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that Vel-

<sup>225</sup> See Appendix 11.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. above, p. 45. See also Addenda.

<sup>227</sup> Cf. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 447, n. 2 (references).

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 615; and for his *augurium salutis*, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 305.

<sup>229</sup> *ILS*, 107, 173, 174, 176-178, 222 and references in Smith, p. 64, n. 19.

<sup>230</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, I, 62, cf. Weber, I, p. 47, n. 210a, Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 31, n. 2, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 618, n. 2; see also Appendix 10.

<sup>231</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, III, 58 f., cf. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 254.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 144.

<sup>233</sup> For comparisons of the exploits of Germanicus to those of Aeneas see Savage, *Classical Journal*, 1938/9, pp. 237 ff. Aeneas may also appear on the Paris cameo, cf. Piganiol, *Essai sur les Jeux Romains*, p. 60, Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, n. 2.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, p. 164, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 176.

<sup>235</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 9, cf. Savage, *Classical Journal*, 1938/9, p. 238, n. 2.

<sup>236</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 69 (cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 260, n. 2), strangely calls Tiberius *circa deos ac religiones neglegentior*. This must be based either on his expul-

leius, in mentioning them, did not mean what he said.

It may be concluded, then, that under Tiberius, as under Augustus, our proconsuls of Africa—who all enjoyed the *amicitia* of the *princeps*—were subordinate to his auspices; but that these auspices, in relation to that province, were thought of as linked not with *imperium* but with the religious conceptions embodied in the words “Augustus” and *auctoritas*.

### (iii) Mars, *Victoria*, *Felicitas*

In his association of the *auspicia principis* with “potentialities operating beyond the range of his presence and even of his directives”—quoted in the last subsection—Nock<sup>237</sup> relates this idea, in pursuance of the studies of Gagé,<sup>238</sup> to the *Victoria Augusti*: “So later he came to be credited with a continuous attribute of Victory, as distinct from whatever was seen behind this or that success in the field.” This, then, is a theme which directly arises from that of the auspices; and it is also one which is not unconnected with our present colonial coinages. For the Tiberian revival of the numismatic commemoration of the great proconsuls by African and Asian cities—in honour of Apronius, Blaesus, Dolabella, Secundus and Lepidus—seems to have been timed to coincide not only with the emergence of a new heir, but also with the half-centenary of the crowning victory of Augustus. But, even before this anniversary occurred, the second *princeps* had already, in a very special sense, asserted his succession to the *Victoria Augusti* by claiming the credit for the victories of Germanicus.<sup>239</sup>

sion of the Chaldeans, etc., in spite of his personal interest in them (cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 496), or on his careful moderation in the cult of Divus Augustus.

<sup>237</sup> *JRS*, 1947, p. 114.

<sup>238</sup> See references in the course of this section; the theme recurs in *RA*, xxxii, 1930, xxxiv, 1931, *MAH*, 1930-1932, 1936, *RH*, 1933, 1936. The later of these articles do not figure in the bibliography of *CAH*. On Gagé's views see the comments of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix, and Durry, *REA*, 1940 (*Mélanges Radet*), p. 415. The present writer has not seen M. Kovaceva, *Victoria, Prometej* (Sofia), VI, 1941/2, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 5 ff. Tiberius was the greatest living general, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 44, n. 74.



One of our cities, *colonia* Paestum, exemplifies the special emphasis on this theme under Tiberius by illustrating, among the few types of its coinage, both *Victoria* and the deity most closely associated with her,<sup>240</sup> Mars—and in each case in more than one guise. On some pieces Mars seems to carry a *hasta*(?) and *parazonium* (Plate I, 7)<sup>241</sup> whereas on another the *hasta* (if this is what it is) is exchanged for a *vexillum* (no. 6 and variant: Plate I, 8 and 9). The *parazonium* and *vexillum* have both appeared with Mars under Augustus, combined on a single coin of about 16 B.C.<sup>242</sup> On another Augustan piece of a moneyer (who is certainly of 16 B.C.), on which Mars carries *hasta* and *parazonium*, the god stands on a pedestal<sup>243</sup> as on one of the Paestan variants of Tiberius (no. 6 var.: Plate I, 9). Thus the relation between these colonial issues and the mintages of c. 16 B.C. is a particularly close one.<sup>244</sup>

The relationship between Mars on the official Augustan issues of 16 B.C. and Mars on the Paestan coinages of Tiberius is emphasized by the rarity of this god on coinages of the immediately succeeding principates. The *parazonium*, emblem closely associated with *Virtus*,<sup>245</sup> is not found again with Mars on the official coinage at least until Nero<sup>246</sup> and possibly until the Flavians. Likewise the *vexillum*, soon to become the imperial standard,<sup>247</sup> is not again seen with this god on official issues until Vitellius—in the centenary year of Actium.<sup>248</sup> As far as is known, *vexillum* and *parazonium* do not

<sup>240</sup> Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 34.

<sup>241</sup> The interpretation as *hasta* must not, however, be pressed owing to the scrappy execution and preservation of the coins.

<sup>242</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 76, no. 438, cf. Sutherland, *NC*, 1945, p. 66.

<sup>243</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 16, no. 86.

<sup>244</sup> Possibly the former celebrate an anniversary of the latter (like official coinages of A.D. c. 34, *RAI*, Chapter III, section ii), i.e., of the secular games of 17 B.C. with which the issues of the following year were explicitly connected (*BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 17, no. 89).

<sup>245</sup> Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. clxxiii. See also Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 66.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204, no. 27—but considered by Mattingly, loc. cit., to represent *Virtus* rather than Mars.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *JRS*, 1942, p. 93 (n. 2 references).

<sup>248</sup> Cf. *RAI*, Chapter IV, section 3.

appear together at Rome between Augustus and Vespasian.<sup>249</sup>

Thus the appearance of these emblems with the Mars of Paestum under Tiberius does not happen to be paralleled under his Julio-Claudian successors; but it links the usages of Tiberius and Augustus. In his capacity as *Vltor*, Mars had been one of the most prominent deities of the first *princeps*.<sup>250</sup> As so often, Tiberius followed this example. It was in the temple of Mars Ultor that he provisionally lodged the cult of Divus Augustus.<sup>251</sup> Round the same temple, monuments were set up after the successes of Germanicus,<sup>252</sup> who had himself given Mars first place in the dedication of his trophy.<sup>253</sup> It was apparently dedicated *Marti et Divo Augusto*.<sup>254</sup>

Divus Augustus was as closely linked with *Victoria* as he was with Mars. This connection is emphasized by the abundant official *aes* issues of Tiberius with the type of Victory.<sup>255</sup> For these bear on the obverse the portrait, not of the reigning *princeps*, but of Augustus, of whose *Victoria* Tiberius claimed to be the heir. The prominence of *Victoria*, no less than of Mars, in the latter's principate is again illustrated by Paestum, which devotes to this theme at least two types. In the one case Victory stands or walks to the right, holding laurel-wreath and palm (no. 3: Plate I, 4); in the other she stands in a *biga* of horses galloping to left (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14). Such types had abounded in the principate of Augustus, on official and local coinage alike.<sup>256</sup>

Here, then, is another Augustan theme taken over and maintained by Tiberius. But the conditions of its maintenance had somewhat changed. For, however superior Tiberius was to Augustus in

<sup>249</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, II, p. 190, no. 782, cf. pp. xlv, lvi.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Pollak, *JAIW*, 1936, pp. 13 ff., Altheim, *History of Roman Religion*, pp. 385 ff. For Mars, Hercules and the *triumphator* see Schilling, *RPh.*, 1942, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>251</sup> Cf. Pettazzoni, *Augustus*, p. 226.

<sup>252</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, II, 64, cf. Kornemann, *DR*, p. 40.

<sup>253</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, II, 22, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 5, n. 3.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 850 f., cf. Gagé, loc. cit., against MSS. *Marti et Iovi et Augusto*.

<sup>255</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 140, nos. 141 ff.

<sup>256</sup> E.g. among colonies, Philippi, *FITA*, p. 274, cf. Collart, *Philippes*, pp. 232, 237.

generalship, the latter was incomparably the greater in *auctoritas*: so that Tiberius, though he laid claim to the reversion of the *Victoria Augusti*, possessed a proportionately less clear-cut claim to it. Thus ambiguities occurred in his official relations with Germanicus<sup>257</sup> and many others. How much greater, then, were to be the difficulties of a Galba and an Otho, the first *principes* to lack the great contribution to *auctoritas* afforded by Julio-Claudian blood.<sup>258</sup> It was they, accordingly, whose Victories had to be described, not merely as *Augusti*, as by inheritance from a glorious ancestor, but as *Galbae Aug.*<sup>259</sup> and *Othonis*.<sup>260</sup> For one of the chief manifestations of the Julio-Claudian *auctoritas* was this *Victoria Augusti*, which was thus an essential and central feature of the Augustan *statio principis*. Augustus, and Tiberius after him, intended to be the holders of military glory *par excellence*, and in its higher grades this amounted to nothing less than a monopoly.<sup>261</sup> It had become difficult for Romans to feel that any operation could be conducted under the auspices of anyone except the holder of the name "Augustus";<sup>262</sup> and so, too, it became equally natural for him to monopolize *Victoria*.<sup>263</sup> That is to say, the proconsul of Africa, the most likely of the proconsuls to be involved in war, would in such circumstances, regardless of any restriction that there may or may not have been on his *imperium*, be limited at two successive stages: first, it became impossible for him to claim *auspicatio* for himself; and secondly, if the battle was victorious, it was the *princeps* rather than the governor to whom the chief credit was due.

But the imperial Victory was not thought of as depending on mere martial prowess. There is the strongest link between *Victoria*

<sup>257</sup> See Appendix 10.

<sup>258</sup> *FITA*, p. 443, n. 3.

<sup>259</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. ccxiv f., 353 (apparently posthumous).

<sup>260</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. ccxiv, ccxxi, 367.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1932, p. 89.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. above, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>263</sup> Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 86, n. 23, points to the possibility of a distinction between this abstract imperial *Victoria Augusti* and the personal *Victoria Augusti* of an individual *princeps*.

*Augusti* and the more subtle "Virtue" *Felicitas Augusti*.<sup>264</sup> The latter was the "magic" quality which, according to Roman tradition, availed the warrior king better than simple valour.<sup>265</sup> It was this intangible superiority and wiliness which enabled him to ensnare his enemies. It had nothing to do with any magistracy or official power: it belonged to the realm of *auctoritas* rather than to that of *imperium*.<sup>266</sup> Like Sulla and Pompey before him, Augustus attached special importance to *Felicitas—Fortuna*. Indeed, his Parthian settlement of 20-19 B.C., emphasised by him as the crowning glory of his reign,<sup>267</sup> clearly belonged to this magic or "clever" order of things rather than to the strictly military domain of straightforward valour.

The evidence for the connection of *Felicitas Augusti* and *Victoria Augusti* is never stronger than in the principate of Tiberius. In the whole post-Augustan period, *Felicitas Augusti*, like *Victoria Augusti*, sometimes seems to refer, not only to the current, but also in a sense to the first, *princeps*.<sup>268</sup> Tiberius, not least, maintained and enhanced the significance not only of the imperial *Victoria* but also of the imperial *Felicitas*,<sup>269</sup> which thereafter maintained its position as a leading official coin-type.<sup>270</sup> This emphasis and combination of the two concepts by Tiberius are illustrated by the legend FELICITAS TIBERI—VIC(toria) AVG(usti) on a sword-sheath,<sup>271</sup> and by the Ameria inscription *Flamen Victoriae et Felic[itatis] Caesar[is] perpetuus*.<sup>272</sup> The use, on the sheath, of the

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 197, cf. p. 195.

<sup>265</sup> Not fortune but personal excellence: cf. Wagenvoort, p. 61.

<sup>266</sup> In the phrase *Felicitas Imperii* (Weber, pp. 99\*, 101\*, n. 436, Wagenvoort, p. 71), *imperium* is used in its wider and non-technical sense.

<sup>267</sup> This theme is pursued in *SWC*.

<sup>268</sup> Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 100, n. 1. But see too Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix.

<sup>269</sup> Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 2, 9, 33, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 89, n. 3.

<sup>270</sup> Galba, who, owing to his lack of Julian origin, was less closely associated than his predecessors with the *Felicitas Augusti*, coins with FELICITAS PVBLICA (*BMC. Imp.*, I, 329, n. 120).

<sup>271</sup> Gagé, *CIL*, XIII, 6796, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 9, Du Four, p. 24, n. 2.

<sup>272</sup> *ILS*, 6631, cf. 6632, Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 94.

plain *praenomen* TIBERIVS without addition (paralleled in *Largus*<sup>273</sup>) suggests his peculiarly personal association with the Virtue in question.<sup>274</sup> The *Fasti Praenestini* seem to refer to *Felicitas* in connection with Tiberius' dedication of the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, which apparently occurred shortly before his accession.<sup>275</sup> Moreover, a *caduceus*, emblem of *Felicitas*, was chosen as type for one of the largest official coinages, commemorating his *vicennium*.<sup>276</sup> Another type first issued on the same occasion, or very slightly later, is the temple of Concord, into the floor of which a bronze *caduceus* was inserted.<sup>277</sup> It seems, then, that, just as the warrior-king had achieved his successes by *Felicitas* rather than by simple valour, and just as Augustus attributed the *Victoria Augusti* to *Felicitas Augusti*—possibly the former idea became clarified by stages in c. 17 and c. 7 B.C.<sup>278</sup>—so Tiberius likewise, on his accession if not to some extent earlier, became the living incarnation of both those *numina*.<sup>279</sup> Indeed his well-known *calliditas*, though deplored by Tacitus,<sup>280</sup> was but a personal variant, in this most peace-loving of emperors, of the Augustan talent for bloodless successes: and our next subject must be the *Pax* which was the essence of his government.

#### (iv) *Pax Perpetua*

##### A. PAX

No less significant than *Victoria* and *Felicitas* among the ideas underlying the principate, and no less prominent than they under Tiberius as well as under Augustus, was *Pax*. Among our colonial

<sup>273</sup> Helmreich, 162, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 143.

<sup>274</sup> For the *praenomen* see above, section i.

<sup>275</sup> Cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 47, 199 f., pace Taylor, *AJP*, 1937, pp. 187, 192.

<sup>276</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, section 2.

<sup>277</sup> Huelsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, p. 80, cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>278</sup> See Appendix 12.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RA*, xxxii, 1930, pp. 1 ff., id., *MAH*, 1932, p. 89, and the comment of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. xxxix.

<sup>280</sup> *Ann.*, II, 30, VI, 34, XI, 3.

mintages it is illustrated by the little known *aes* piece, apparently a medallion, here attributed tentatively to Carthage (no. 17: Plate II, 3). The legend of this reads PACE AVG·PERP(*etua*): AVG· may be an abbreviation either of *Augusta*—like SALVS AVGVSTA<sup>281</sup> on official coinage of Tiberius—or of *Augusti*, a type of formula with slightly different nuances<sup>282</sup> which has not yet reached the official coinage but is already found at *municipium* Italica (PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI, Plate VII, 4).<sup>283</sup>

The concept of the imperial *Pax* has been described as even eclipsing *divus* worship in importance in the philosophy of the principate.<sup>284</sup> Romulus-Quirinus,<sup>285</sup> the founder of the imperial auspices,<sup>286</sup> was himself a personification of peace as well as of war: *Quirinus autem est Mars qui praeest paci*.<sup>287</sup> Augustus, as has been said, at first laid great stress on Romulus.<sup>288</sup> But there was general interest in the kings;<sup>289</sup> and in the second decade of his principate he may have emphasized instead, or as well, the more civilian figure of Romulus' successor Numa Pompilius,<sup>290</sup> who, for all the traits of Romulus as pacifier, was regarded, in the light of true man of peace, as his complement.<sup>291</sup> The most famous manifestation of

<sup>281</sup> BMC. *Imp.*, p. 131, no. 81.

<sup>282</sup> See Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, pp. 49 ff., Fink, *YCS*, VIII, 1942, p. 87, n. 27, Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 3, n. 3, BMC. *Imp.*, I, pp. clvi f. nn., Koch *RE*, xviii, 4, 2432 f. Cf. *domus Augusti-Augusta, numen Augusti-Augustum*, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>283</sup> Vives, IV, p. 127, no. 9.

<sup>284</sup> Gagé, *RH*, 1936, p. 290. For the *Pax* theme, see Kornemann in Gercke-Norden, *Einteilung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, III, 2, p. 61, Koch, loc. cit., 2430 ff.

<sup>285</sup> For the identification see Servius, *ad Aen.*, I, 292, cf. Adcock, *CAH*, IX, p. 720.

<sup>286</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>287</sup> Servius, *ad Aen.*, VI, 860, cf. Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 89.

<sup>288</sup> See above, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Carcopino, *Points de Vue sur l'Impérialisme Romain*, pp. 107 f., cf. p. 97.

<sup>290</sup> In *SWC* it is suggested that the *aes* pieces with Numa's head, which are mentioned in *FITA*, p. xvi, should be attributed to c. 18 B.C. instead of 23 B.C. to which Willers and Mattingly attribute them. Pink prefers 20 B.C.

<sup>291</sup> Cf., for various aspects of this position, Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*, pp. 29 ff., *Horace et les Curiaces*, p. 79, *Naissance de Rome*, pp. 187 f. Augustus wanted to look like both, cf. Glaser, *RE*, XVII, 1, 1249; and there was apparently a statue of Numa *ad Aram Gentis Iuliae* (cf. Smith, *JRS*, 1926, pp. 99, 101), though the altar in question

Augustus' pacific policy is the *Ara Pacis Augustae*.<sup>292</sup> Does the type of our "medallion" represent this? It shows an altar-enclosure with two doors and no panels. This does not look the same as the ARA PACIS type of Nero, which displays one door and two panels.<sup>293</sup> (The somewhat similar type of the official *aes* of Tiberius inscribed PROVIDENT· shows two doors, like our "medallion," but again two panels also.<sup>294</sup>) But accuracy need not be expected, and the altar of which the precinct is shown on our piece of Carthage(?) may well be intended to represent the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus at Rome.<sup>295</sup> For other colonies too, notably Pella and Buthrotum, by their Augustan legends PACIS, SPES and SALVTIS, CONCORDIA respectively, seem to echo Roman dedications.<sup>296</sup> Yet it might instead be a local altar. Thus at Corinth the dedication GENT· IVLI· (nos. 42 ff.: Plate V, 4 and 7) seem to refer to a local temple and not to a Roman *Aedes Gentis Iuliae*;<sup>297</sup> and likewise an Augustan dedication IVNONI at Ilici accompanies what is presumably a city-temple.<sup>298</sup>

A further reference to *Pax Augusta* seems to occur on another of our colonial coinages, namely no. 10 (Plate I, 15), which is tentatively interpreted as an issue commemorating the *deductio* of *colonia* Panormus.<sup>299</sup> The type of this coin, though it is badly executed

may be post-Augustan, cf. Chapter III, section i. For Numa's initiation of the *auspicia maiora* and *augurium salutis* see Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 285, 298, and above, section ii, subsection B, n. 219.

<sup>292</sup> On this, among the latest contributions to a vast literature are Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, I, 1946, pp. 1 ff., Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (1948), Ryder, *Memoirs of American Academy at Rome*, 1949.

<sup>293</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 271 f., cf. p. clxxx. As is seen by Sydenham, *The Coinage of Nero*, p. 63, n. 1, the comparison with Nero's coins should not be pressed as by Riemann, *RE*, XVIII, 2 (1942), 2087. On the type of the latter see Kubitschek, *JAIW*, 1902, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>294</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxl.

<sup>295</sup> Not the temple of Janus, as A. Occo, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (1683), p. 70.

<sup>296</sup> *FITA*, pp. 271, 281.

<sup>297</sup> Cf. below, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>298</sup> *FITA*, p. 215.

<sup>299</sup> See *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6 and below, Appendix 5.

and preserved, appears to be an olive-branch, which, as Virgil reminds us,<sup>300</sup> was the recognised symbol of Peace.<sup>301</sup> It seems to have made its début on the Roman official coinage when it was placed, with a *cornucopiae*, beside a head of *Pax*(?) by the mint-masters of Octavian.<sup>302</sup> We know of no appearance of the olive-branch as main type before our present bronze issue. Its first depiction in this capacity on the official coinage seems to occur under Nero.<sup>303</sup>

But this isolated and doubtful occurrence of the olive-branch is insignificant in comparison with its apparent attribution to *Iustitia-Pax* on a vast official coinage of Tiberius. For an overwhelmingly large percentage of all gold and silver coins minted during his reign, as well as a few issued shortly before Augustus' death, bear a figure which, although apparently intended in the first resort to represent *Iustitia*, seems to carry the olive-branch of *Pax*<sup>304</sup>—a Roman synthesis which probably owed something to Stoic inspiration.<sup>305</sup> These are traditionally the "Tribute Pennies" of the New Testament,<sup>306</sup> of which the central events happened in this principate. Christ was credited by Matthew with the words "blessed are the peace-makers,"<sup>307</sup> an idea to which the Roman concept of Peace with Justice is not alien; the two doctrines were formulated at the same time,<sup>308</sup> and Tertullian rightly or wrongly (probably the latter) ascribed to Tiberius a favourable attitude to Chris-

<sup>300</sup> *Georg.*, II, 425, *Aen.*, VIII, 16, cf. d'Herouville, *REL*, 1941, p. 146.

<sup>301</sup> It was also perhaps stressed by reasons of official agricultural policy, cf. d'Herouville, loc. cit., pp. 142 ff.

<sup>302</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. cxxiii, 100, no. 611.

<sup>303</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 256 ff. It is there described as a laurel-branch (cf. p. 415), but interpreted as an olive-branch, *ibid.*, pp. clxxxi f., cf. p. 418.

<sup>304</sup> Cf. *RAI*, Chapter III, section i, combining the views of Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxi, Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, I, p. 52, no. 128. Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 304, considers the figure to represent *Salus*, but without apparent justification.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Pippidi, *RC*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 175, n. 2.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, p. 427.

<sup>307</sup> 5.9, cf. Pippidi, *RC*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 144.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. Wagenvoort, *QAS*, X, 1938, p. 18, Strong, *JRS*, 1939, pp. 148 ff., Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, p. 250, Westbury Jones, *Roman and Christian Imperialism*, p. 1.



tianity.<sup>309</sup> The Tiberian coins with an olive-branch, and medallion invoking *Pax*, well illustrate the temper of the principate in which they were issued: for we know independently that the concept of *Pax* gained particular force and reality during it.<sup>310</sup>

Such, then, was the background of the remarkable legend *PACE AVG·PERP·* on our medallion of Carthage(?). This is to some extent paralleled by the Spanish dedication *Augusto Paci perpetuae et Concordiae Augustae*.<sup>311</sup> In that inscription *Pax Perpetua* is associated with another of the concepts most closely connected with the Tiberian principate, namely *Concordia*, to which he accords emphatic anniversary commemoration on his official coinage.<sup>312</sup> Under Augustus, also, the same two personifications had already been linked by Ovid—*Ianus adorandus cumque hoc Concordia mitis, Et Romana Salus, araue Pacis erit*.<sup>313</sup>

The reference to *Pax* on the medallion of Carthage(?), in a different Case from its appearances on the Spanish inscription and in the pages of Ovid, suggests a grammatical consideration which, although of minor importance in itself, illustrates a not unimportant tendency. For here, on a Tiberian colonial mintage, is a feature not found on official issues until many more years, if not centuries, have passed. On an Augustan coin of *colonia* Buthrotum, as in Ovid after *Ara*, we find the Genitive *PACIS*,<sup>314</sup> on official coinages starting under Claudius, as at Ostia, there appears the dedicatory Dative.<sup>315</sup> But our medallion of Carthage(?) exceptionally shows an Ablative. No such Ablative in connection with a Virtue or deity had ever appeared. This unusual inflection could be interpreted either as an

<sup>309</sup> *Apologeticum*, V, 2, cf. XXI, 4; Pippidi, *REL*, 1934 = *AT*, pp. 194 f. (references).

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 34 f., *RH*, 1936, Piganiol, *Histoire de Rome*, p. 247.

<sup>311</sup> *ILS*, 3786, cf. von Premerstein, p. 126.

<sup>312</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, section 2.

<sup>313</sup> *Fasti*, III, 881, cf. *FITA*, p. 271, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 299; the present writer says more about this conjunction in *Univ. of Edinburgh Review*, 1949, p. 238.

<sup>314</sup> *FITA*, p. 271. Cf. under Tiberius *AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE* (Plate VII, 2), etc.

<sup>315</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. lxiv, 165 ff.

elliptical Ablative Absolute,<sup>316</sup> or an extension of the "Instrumental Ablative,"<sup>317</sup> expressing Quality or the so-called "Attendant Circumstances."<sup>318</sup> Here, as has been said, parallels cannot be found on official issues until a much later date. Indeed, the use of such Ablatives on official coinages to describe deities and "Virtues" is only found much after the Julio-Claudian period. We may quote the CERERE AVG[VS.] of Septimius Severus,<sup>319</sup> the almost simultaneous SPE AVG. of Clodius Albinus,<sup>320</sup> and the PERPETVITATE of Florian (A.D. 276)<sup>321</sup> and his successors. But the first two of these are provincial, and an Ablative may not have been intended; though for our present medallic piece of Tiberius such an assumption would probably be unjustified. PAX, too, was to appear on official coinages in the Ablative, but in an unelliptical Ablative Absolute—PACE P.R. TERRA MARIQVE PARTA,<sup>322</sup> a great early imperial theme.<sup>323</sup>

A grammatical form like this Ablative on our piece of Carthage (?), whatever its explanation, is, by the mere fact that its only parallels are not contemporary but far in the future,<sup>324</sup> not inap-

<sup>316</sup> For an earlier Ablative Absolute cf. AEGYPTO CAPTA, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 106, no. 650, and the signatures of colonial magistrates (*FITA*, pp. 159, 189 f., 196 f., 262; cf. also—elliptically—C. Allio Bala at Lipara, *ibid.*, p. 28); cf. later VOTIS X. MVLTIS XX etc. (for an early example under Commodus see *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. 743).

<sup>317</sup> Precedents for this type of usage are perhaps partly supplied by TRIB(unicia) POT(estate), etc., *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. lxxviii, cf. II, pp. xxxiv, lxxxvi, Vandvik, *AVAO*, 1941, 2 (1942), p. 110.

<sup>318</sup> For the Instrumental Ablative in general see Ernout, Riemann's *Syntaxe Latine*<sup>7</sup>, pp. 160 ff. For the so-called Ablative of Manner (with adjective), *ibid.*, p. 162. For the Ablative of "Quality" see Vandvik, *AVAO*, 1941, no. 2 (1942) (especially p. 64, "Komitative Begriffe"), Löfstedt, *Skrifter utgivna av Det Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund*, X, 1, 1942, pp. 155 ff., cf. also Woodcock, *CR*, 1947, pp. 22 ff. Such an interpretation of our present legend requires the understanding of *res publica* or *imperium p.R.* or some such phrase.

<sup>319</sup> *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 617 f.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, 50, no. 41; cf. Carausius later (*RIC*, V, 2, pp. 542 f.). The latter also uses FIDES, FIDE and FIDEM indiscriminately (*ibid.*, p. 529), but blunders are to be suspected and indeed expected.

<sup>321</sup> *RIC*, V, 2, pp. 352 f. Also Probus and Carus.

<sup>322</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. lxxiv, clxxviii ff. (Nero).

<sup>323</sup> Cf. Gag , *RH*, 1936, p. 81, *MAH*, 1936, p. 70, Pippidi, *RHSE*, 1942 = *AT*, p. 144, Momigliano, *JRS*, 1942, p. 63 and n. 44.

<sup>324</sup> For the sake of completeness, mention should be made of an Ablative after a

propriate to the progressive developments in the idea of *Pax* which were a feature of the principate of Tiberius. The next subsection will suggest that the same medallion of Carthage(?) shows further anticipations of the practice of official coinage.

### B. *PERPETVITAS*

A second feature of our colonial piece with *PACE AVG·PERP·*, which again anticipates by many years the practice of the official coinage, is the epithet *perpetua*. This is far from common on the Roman coinage of the early Principate; our present piece, unless partially paralleled by a second Carthaginian(?) issue of Antonia (now lost if it ever existed<sup>325</sup>), provides the only numismatic instance of the word—and a non-official one at that—between the *DICTATOR PERPET·* of Lepidus(?) for Divus Julius in c. 37 B.C.<sup>326</sup> (a titular instance which is hardly comparable) and the *ROMA PERPETVA* of Vespasian.<sup>327</sup> After the latter there is no known parallel until the last decade of the second century, when Commodus inscribed an issue *FELIC· PERPETVAE AVG·*.<sup>328</sup> This is the earliest analogy, on the official coinage, to our present colonial use under Tiberius of *perpetua* with a “Virtue.”<sup>329</sup> The usage of Commodus was followed by Severus’ ascription of the same epithet to Concordia, Securitas and Spes.<sup>330</sup> But our *Pax Perpetua* did not occur on official issues until the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275-276).<sup>331</sup> Before that, however, Severus Alexander had personified

Preposition—*AVGVSTA IN PACE* of Salonina, *RIC*, V, 1, p. 197, cf. (for its “Christian” sound) Mattingly, *RC*, p. 162.

<sup>325</sup> Cohen, I, p. 222, no. 3, doubted by *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 188 n. The legend is given as *PACI* (not *PACE*) *PERP·*, but, on the Tiberian piece also, the final *E* is so poorly constructed as to look like an *I* at first sight.

<sup>326</sup> This is the interpretation given to a unique *aes* piece (at Copenhagen) in *FITA*, pp. 50 ff. But it might also have been issued by Octavian in c. 36 B.C.

<sup>327</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, II, pp. lxiii, 86.

<sup>328</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, IV, pp. clxix, n. 3, 752, 833.

<sup>329</sup> Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 91, n. 3.

<sup>330</sup> *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 71, 75; cf. pp. 130, 212, 276.

<sup>331</sup> *RIC*, V, 1, p. 333. Marcus Aurelius introduces *PAX AETERNA AVG·*, *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. 648, no. 1549, etc.

the quality itself with PERPETVITATI AVG.<sup>332</sup> Probus (276-282), the successor of Tacitus and Florian, was to follow, in part, the example of Caesar *dictator perpetuo* by applying the same term to himself as *imperator*, not *perpetuo*, but *perpetuus*<sup>333</sup>—PERPETVO IMP(eratori) PROBO AVG.<sup>334</sup> Two centuries afterwards, Valentinian I celebrated PERPETVITAS IMPERII,<sup>335</sup> apparently on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Augustus,<sup>336</sup> and Gratian was to illustrate a similar theme by a phoenix on a globe.<sup>337</sup>

Thus the appearance of *perpetua* on our colonial “medallion” inaugurates and anticipates a long line of uses on the official series. Apparently *Perpetuitas*, to begin with, did not mean quite the same as *Aeternitas*,<sup>338</sup> though the distinction may sometimes be lost sight of. Vespasian’s inauguration of the epithet *perpetua* on the official coinage in conjunction with Roma is a deviation from the far commoner *Roma Aeterna* which can scarcely be accidental. Much later, Severus Alexander must have had a distinction in mind if, inscribing one coin PERPETVITATI, he inscribed another AETERNITATIBVS.<sup>339</sup> Florian and Probus were to substitute an occasional VICTORIA PERPETVA<sup>340</sup> for the more frequent VICTORIA AETERNA,<sup>341</sup> and the latter was to imitate their predecessor Tacitus in ringing the changes on the two epi-

<sup>332</sup> RIC, IV, 2, p. 84.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. the “perpetual consulship” of Vitellius, Stevenson, *CAH*, X, p. 826. For *et sacrosanctus in perpetuum ut essem* (RG, 10), Hammond, p. 245, n. 10, Hohl, *Klio*, 1939, p. 74, *FITA*, p. 451, etc.

<sup>334</sup> RIC, V, 2, pp. 13, 19, 110 f., cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, p. 34.

<sup>335</sup> Pearce, *NC*, 1938, pp. 126 ff.

<sup>336</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VII, section 4.

<sup>337</sup> Pearce, *NC*, 1938, p. 128 (PERPETVETAS [sic]).

<sup>338</sup> For references see Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 83, 87, n. 1, 91, n. 1, Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 273, 279 ff. According to Gneecchi, *Numismatic Circular*, 1908 = *The Coin-Types of Imperial Rome*, p. 55, the two conceptions “may almost be confused.”

<sup>339</sup> RIC, IV, 2, p. 81. Doubtful by Fink, *YCS*, 1940, p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>340</sup> RIC, V, 1, pp. 352 f., V, 2, p. 108, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 98.

<sup>341</sup> For this see Berlinger, *Zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser*, Diss: Breslau, 1935, p. 24, d’Ors Pérez-Peix, *Emerita*, 1943, p. 330, n. 1.

thets as applied to *Pax*.<sup>342</sup> Later still, the Augusti and Caesars of the tetrarchy were sometimes distinguished from each other by being called *aeterni* and *perpetui* respectively.<sup>343</sup> Apart from references to Caesar's dictatorship, both words had first been introduced to the coinage of the empire under Tiberius; for not only does this apply to *Perpetuus*, but it is in his reign, too, that other colonial issues of Tarraco (Plate VII, 2) and Emerita (Plate VII, 8) are inscribed with the novel legend AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE.<sup>344</sup>

The difference between the two conceptions is perhaps illustrated by Cicero. It is true that he exemplifies the natural tendency to confusion by coupling *aeternus* and *perpetuus* at least once without apparent distinction.<sup>345</sup> But what is more significant is his tendency to link the latter epithet with words like *stabilis*,<sup>346</sup> *constans*<sup>347</sup> and *assiduus*.<sup>348</sup> *Aeternus* means "that which is raised above all time," whereas *perpetuus* signifies "unbroken, uninterrupted, continuous."<sup>349</sup> As its etymology (*peto*) suggests, the latter term sometimes carries an undertone of striving or hard work. It is a less celestial and more worldly epithet than *aeternus*. When Vespasian substitutes ROMA PERPETVA for the more usual ROMA AETERNA, he perhaps intends to convey a sense, not of the objective eternity of the city or of *Romanità*, but of the successful effort for survival, as exemplified by the recent Civil Wars and by the strenuous reforms that followed them.

Thus, too, when a city speaks of *Pax Augusta* (or *Augusti*) *Per-*

<sup>342</sup> *RIC*, V, 1, pp. 330, 333, V, 2, p. 21.

<sup>343</sup> Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, I, p. 220, n. 1. See in general Instinsky, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 344.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Hoey, *YCS*, 1940, pp. 105 f., Instinsky, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 323, Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943, VI, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>345</sup> *De Nat. Deorum*, I, 15, 40.

<sup>346</sup> *De Inv.*, II, 54, 164.

<sup>347</sup> *Phil.*, XIII, 6, 13.

<sup>348</sup> *Fam.*, VI, 13, 2.

<sup>349</sup> Lewis and Short, ss. vv. Cf. the Vergilian meaning of *perpetuus*, "drawn out at full length"; Mackail, ed., *Aen.*, VIII, 183, cf. IV, 32, VII, 176.

*petua* under Tiberius, the suggestion is that this peace needs to be worked for and will not come with the inevitability of fate. Such a conception is consistent with the sober and laborious spirit of Tiberius' rule, and deserves to rank with *Moderatio* as one of its peculiar catchwords. Indeed, we have independent evidence that his principate witnessed a considerably extended use of the epithet *perpetuus*. For example, he himself is described by Velleius as *perpetuus patronus Romani Imperii*<sup>350</sup> and by a Gaulish inscription (admittedly deviating from official usage) as *imperator perpetuus*;<sup>351</sup> while the conspiracy of Sejanus called forth vows *pro perpetua salute divinae domus*.<sup>352</sup> But the closest parallel of all is the dedication *Augusto Paci perpetuae et Concordiae Augustae*.<sup>353</sup>

By way of contrast, when Seneca wrote *magna et aeterna pax*,<sup>354</sup> he was to mean, like Christians at a later date,<sup>355</sup> no worldly peace, but death.<sup>356</sup> His phrase for the former, and synonym of the Tiberian *Pax perpetua*, was *pax Romana*.<sup>357</sup> Tiberius, too, tended to reserve *aeternitas* for superhuman ideas. In his principate, at provincial capitals, the phrase AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE (Plate VII, 2, 8) seems to have been inscribed on temples; the idea was closely linked with that of the *aeternitas populi Romani*.<sup>358</sup> *Aeternitas Augusta* does not claim *Aeternitas* for the ruling *princeps*, nor, very pointedly, did Tiberius, whose judgment was *principes mortales, rem publicam aeternam esse*.<sup>359</sup> But *Aeternitas Augusta*

<sup>350</sup> II, 121, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 91, n. 3.

<sup>351</sup> *ILS*, 121: see above, section i. At cities there were *quinquennales perpetui* (Larsen, *CP*, 1931, p. 322) and *flamines perpetui*; cf. *Sac. Perp.* at Carthage, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>352</sup> *ILS*, 157, cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 112, n. 14, Rogers, p. 28 (Interamna).

<sup>353</sup> *ILS*, 3786: see last subsection. Cf. also Addenda.

<sup>354</sup> *Ad Marc.*, 19. 15.

<sup>355</sup> *Requiescit in pace*, etc.—from the Hebrew. Cf. *Augusta in pace*, *RIC*, V, I, p. 197.

<sup>356</sup> But this contrast cannot be pressed too far; exceptions occur on both sides. For the theme see Pfeleiderer, *Die Idee des ewigen Friedens*, in *Reden und Aufsätze* (1909), pp. 50 ff.

<sup>357</sup> *De Clem.*, I.8.2; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 27.1.1.3.

<sup>358</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 122, cf. Rogers, p. 32.

<sup>359</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, III, 65, cf. Rogers, p. 33.

does hint at a dynastic permanence which was not yet formulated by official policy; and so does Tucci's dedication *pro ae[tern.] Caesarum*,<sup>360</sup> which pointed straight to the dynastic implications of the AETERNIT(as) IMPERI of the Severi,<sup>361</sup> and was nearer still to the autocratic and theocratic *Aeternitas Augusti*.<sup>362</sup>

Was it in awareness of these divergent strands of *aeternitas* that Severus Alexander, who had room for many gods in his *lararium*,<sup>363</sup> produced his surprising coin-legend AETERNITATIBVS? Perhaps the comprehensive plural suggests that variations on this theme were already a little threadbare. Later in the century, the VESTA AETERNA of Salonina<sup>364</sup> seems scarcely more than a tautological repetition.<sup>365</sup> By way of contrast with the elevated character of *aeternitas*, and its danger of becoming lost in meaningless abstraction, one of the many numismatic innovations of Commodus had been the more concretely phrased FORTVNAE MANENTI;<sup>366</sup> and simpler still was to be the VICTORIOSO SEMPER of Probus.<sup>367</sup> This was the ideal of a warrior and a military monarchy, and contrasts vividly with Tiberius' text for his very different reign—PACE AVG· PERP.

### (v) Old and new types

The last two subsections have attempted to illustrate novel features of PACE AVG· PERP.; and there are other novelties in Ti-

<sup>360</sup> *ILS*, 163, as restored by Mommsen.

<sup>361</sup> *RIC*, IV, 1, pp. 73, 75, 77; cf. coinage of Philip. See Pearce, *NC*, 1938, p. 128, Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), p. 39, Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 124, Nock, *JRS*, 1947, p. 105, n. 30.

<sup>362</sup> Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), p. 41.

<sup>363</sup> *Id.*, *CAH*, XII, p. 68 (n. 1 references). But see above, n. 339.

<sup>364</sup> *RIC*, V, 1, p. 115.

<sup>365</sup> For the link between *Vesta* and *Aeternitas* see Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, pp. 107 ff., Rogers, p. 20. Last, *CR*, 1943, p. 32, suggests that no such inseparable link existed at a much earlier period; but cf. Hor., *Od.*, III, 5, 11.

<sup>366</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, IV, pp. clxv and n. 2, 731, 813, 821, 858; Nock, *JRS*, 1947, p. 113, n. 91.

<sup>367</sup> *RIC*, V, 2, pp. 32, 41, cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, pp. 27, 31, 34.

berian colonial types. But these must be considered alongside many features already found under Augustus. Inherited from Augustus, apparently without change, were *Mars* and *Victoria*,<sup>368</sup> and so were certain other cults, likewise recorded on our coinage, which seem to have had a special local significance, such as Jupiter Ammon at Cassandrea (no. 32: Plate IV, 4) and Mercury at Thapsus<sup>369</sup> (nos. 24, 26, 28-29, 31: Plate III, 3-4 and 6, IV, 1 and 3).<sup>370</sup> Both these had been the special types of their cities under Augustus just as they were under Tiberius.<sup>371</sup> If we turn to official types of an inanimate character,<sup>372</sup> we find, as in Spain<sup>373</sup> and on statues,<sup>374</sup> an abundance of laurel-wreaths (*Victoria Augusti*<sup>375</sup>) and oak-wreaths (*ob cives servatos*<sup>376</sup>), always hard to tell apart<sup>377</sup> (e.g. Plate I, 1-3, II, 3, IV, 9, V, 16, VII, 7, VIII, 7). These were both purely Augustan; and so was the capricorn at Panormus (no. 11: Plate I, 16), which recalls those imitated by *municipia* Italica<sup>378</sup> and Zitha<sup>379</sup>—under Augustus—from his official issues.<sup>380</sup> Pontifical implements, too, are common in both reigns.<sup>381</sup> The *simpulum* and *lituus* at Hippo Diarrhytus (no. 20: Plate II, 7)<sup>382</sup> had already appeared on Augustan coinages as

<sup>368</sup> See above, section iii.

<sup>369</sup> The ram at Panormus (no. 12: Plate I, 17 and 18) is interpreted as a symbol of Mercury by Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 208; cf. Orth, *RE*, 2 R. 2, 393.

<sup>370</sup> For the Augustan Mercury see Scott, *Hermes*, 1928, pp. 15 ff., Degraasi, *Athenaeum*, 1937, pp. 284 ff., Piganiol, *RA*, XXII, 1944, p. 123 and especially Chittenden, *NC*, 1945, pp. 41 ff.

<sup>371</sup> *FITA*, pp. 272 (cf. Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 24), 225.

<sup>372</sup> For temples and shrines, cf. below, Chapter II, section iv, subsections A and B, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>373</sup> E.g. Romula (Plate VII, 7), Acci, Tarraco, and *municipia* Bilbilis and Osca; also at *municipium* Utica.

<sup>374</sup> E.g. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 152.

<sup>375</sup> See Chapter II, section iii.

<sup>376</sup> Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, III, 21, for conferment on Tiberius.

<sup>377</sup> Cf. Schulz, *Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme auf römischen Kaiser-münzen*, p. 9 n. 19, p. 12, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. xcix f.

<sup>378</sup> *FITA*, p. 174.

<sup>379</sup> *FITA*, p. 187.

<sup>380</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 56, 62, 80, 107, 110, 113.

<sup>381</sup> For the *patera* held by Livia as priestess, see below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>382</sup> See above, section ii, subsection B; also Appendix 11.



emblems of the high-priesthood,<sup>383</sup> and even the much rarer *strigiles* at Pella (nos. 36, 40: Plate IV, 11) had figured at the same mint under the first *princeps*.<sup>384</sup>

On the other hand, in our discussion of PACE AVG· PERP·, one point that has emerged is the occasional appearance of new phrases and motifs on colonial issues many years, often very many years, before they are found on the official mintages; and it has become clear that, in spite of its many conservative traits,<sup>385</sup> this applies particularly to the colonial series of Tiberius. Its epithet PERPETVA, like its personification AETERNITAS, does not appear on metropolitan issues until Vespasian. The olive-branch of Peace, apparently found at Panormus soon after (if not before) the accession of Tiberius, occurs first under Nero as the main type of official coins; while the actual PAX PERPETVA of our Tiberian medallion of Carthage(?) does not reappear at all until centuries later still, under Tacitus (A.D. 275-276).

Moreover, other colonial and municipal coinages of Tiberius provide analogous examples of such anticipations of the official practice. Thus the legend DEO AVGVSTO which appears at *colonia* Tarraco under Tiberius (Plate VI, 8: sometimes on the same coin as AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE<sup>386</sup>) does not appear on official coinage until we find it—apparently in honour of an Augustan anniversary—on *aurei* of Gallienus (A.D. 253-268).<sup>387</sup> Again, the omission of any divine title from the style of Augustus, at Dyrrhachium and Pella under Tiberius, is not paralleled on official issues until Hadrian.<sup>388</sup> Yet another Tiberian anticipation, at a provincial Roman city, of a later official numismatic theme is provided by *municipium* Italica, which writes PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI in full

<sup>383</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 40.

<sup>384</sup> *FITA*, pp. 281 f.

<sup>385</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>386</sup> Vives, IV, p. 131, no. 12.

<sup>387</sup> See below, Chapter III, section iii.

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 120.

(Plate VII, 4<sup>889</sup>), rendering explicit the deliberately generalised PROVIDENT· of the imperial *aes*. Here, however, the time-lag before the theme percolates to the official coinage is a shorter one; for it is not a third-century *princeps*, but Claudius, whose Roman issues first write this type of formula in full—CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI.<sup>890</sup> Similarly Pella (no. 39) and Caesaraugusta<sup>891</sup> write PIETAS AVGVSTA under Tiberius where Rome still writes PIETAS.<sup>892</sup>

Nor are these the only precocities or peculiarities of the Tiberian coin-types of citizen communities. For in some cases, as subjects discussed in the next chapter will indicate, we find strange terms or phrases which are not only alien to the official coinage of the principates of Tiberius and Augustus, but never, even in later years, recur on official or, for that matter, local coinages. Thus Romula's GENETRIX ORBIS of Livia (Plate VII, 6),<sup>893</sup> only partially paralleled at a much later date by the VENERI GENETRICI of Sabina,<sup>894</sup> is for the rest exceptional; the GENT· IVLI· of Corinth (Plate V, 4, 7) disappears after a brief survival under Caligula,<sup>895</sup> while the IVNCTIO of Ilici (Plate VI, 6),<sup>896</sup> applied to Germanicus and Drusus, has no precedent or parallel on coinage of any sort or period.

PACE AVG· PERP·, then, is only one of a number of types that present, along with elements inherited from Augustus, features which can be related to no Augustan precedent, but which instead are either unique or point the way to practices not apparent on the official coinage until much later principates. Phenomena of this latter type suggest a new aspect of the gradual and much-discussed

<sup>889</sup> Vives, IV, p. 127, no. 9; cf. above, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>890</sup> BMC. Imp., I, p. 180, no. 109, p. 184, no. 140.

<sup>891</sup> Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37, cf. Hill, NNM, 50, 1931, p. 92, no. 19, and p. 96; cf. below, Chapter III, section iii, subsection A, n. 166. It is in the Genitive.

<sup>892</sup> BMC. Imp., I, p. 133, no. 98.

<sup>893</sup> Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37; cf. below, Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>894</sup> BMC. Imp., III, pp. cxvii, cxli, 307, 334.

<sup>895</sup> See below, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>896</sup> Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10; cf. below, Chapter III, section ii.

“provincialisation” of Rome and the Romans.<sup>397</sup> A further aspect of the same subject, the infiltration from the periphery of special honours to the imperial family, is the topic of the next section.

<sup>397</sup> Cf. (for race) M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome*, pp. 338 ff., Frank, *American Historical Review*, 1915/16, pp. 689 ff., Rostovtzeff, *SEH*, pp. 100, 517 f., n. 31, etc., etc. However, the view of Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, pp. 85 ff., 111 ff., that Roman Law was similarly provincialised is now contested by de Visscher, *AC*, 1946, p. 58, who suggests that the influence was centrifugal. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 349 ff., says that “Hellenisation” came quickly after Augustus, who had delayed it (cf. Weber’s unpublished *Princeps*, Vol. II, Chapters IV and V).

## CHAPTER III

### THE FAMILY OF TIBERIUS

#### (i) The *Gens Iulia*

A TYPE which evokes collectively the theme of the imperial family is provided by the Tiberian coinage of Corinth. The larger and more varied of the two duoviral issues of this mint that can be attributed to Tiberius is that of the *duoviri* L. Arrius Peregrinus and L. Furius Labeo (nos. 42-45), apparently datable to some year before 22.<sup>1</sup> Its type is a hexastyle temple inscribed GENT (*i* or *is*) IVLI(*ae*) (Plate V, 4, 7). Though the imperial cult under Tiberius is a familiar theme, a brief commentary on this particular legend is perhaps needed in order to enable it to play its part among the rest of the evidence. For this is apparently the numismatic debut of the phrase *Gens Iulia*,<sup>2</sup> and indeed, if we except a brief survival of the same series under Caligula,<sup>3</sup> apparently its sole numismatic occurrence.

At the very period of our Tiberian coinages the *Gens Iulia* receives literary attention: for Tacitus records the dedication of a *sacrarium Genti Iuliae* in A.D. 16 at its ancestral Bovillae,<sup>4</sup> from which too we have a Republican inscription of the *gentiles Iuliei*.<sup>5</sup> In speaking of A.D. 19, Tacitus again illustrates the special position of the *Gens Iulia* by describing the stipulation according to which it alone should provide successors to the priestly posts of Germanicus.<sup>6</sup> These developments are very close in date to the Corinthian coins, and the combined evidence bears witness to a decisive stage

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The "Livia as priestess" type is sometimes (e.g. by Hill) described as representing the *Gens Iulia*, but it is labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA: see below, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>3</sup> Earle Fox, *JIAN*, 1899, p. 105, no. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann.*, II, 41, cf. Weber, p. 91\*, n. 424, Gagé, *MAH*, 1931, p. 20, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *ILS*, 298, cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1931, p. 20, n. 3, Syme, *RR*, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Ann.*, II, 83, cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, p. 170, n. 4.

in the cult. Its preliminaries under Augustus are obscure. The *Ara Gentis Iuliae* at Rome, of which we have epigraphic evidence under Claudius<sup>7</sup> and Titus,<sup>8</sup> was ascribed by Grueber to c. 39 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> and Taylor too first attributed it to Augustus (12 B.C.);<sup>10</sup> but subsequently she has withdrawn this view in favour of the opinion that the *Ara Numinis Augusti*, from its foundation (shortly before his death?) served the cult of the *Gens Iulia*.<sup>11</sup> Though Augustus' family played a very great part in his policy,<sup>12</sup> there seems to be no positive evidence for an *Ara Gentis Iuliae* at Rome in his lifetime;<sup>13</sup> the altar existing in the time of Claudius may have been founded by the latter, but the founder could also have been Tiberius.

Similar chronological doubts attend our earliest known inscription recording a kindred concept, the *Gens Augusta*. This inscription is a private dedication from a fellow-colony of Corinth, namely Carthage, couched in the phrase *Genti Augustae P. Perelius Hedulus sac. perp.*<sup>14</sup> This is usually ascribed to the lifetime of Augustus, but at one time Rostovtzeff envisaged a Tiberian date.<sup>15</sup> *Gens Augusta* naturally does not mean quite the same as *Gens Iulia*. It has been suggested that the former implies the inclusion of the living family of the *princeps* in the cult, whereas the latter term only provides for the worship of his deceased relatives.<sup>16</sup> This is doubtful, but it remains true that *Gens Augusta* is the more "advanced" of the

<sup>7</sup> Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *JRS*, 1926, pp. 99 ff. (a military diploma).

<sup>9</sup> *BMC Republic*, I, p. 584 n. But the references which he quotes there (*CIG*, 6125 and *Bullettino dell'Istituto Archeologico*, 1845, p. 122) do not support this view.

<sup>10</sup> *AJA*, 1925, p. 307, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *DRE*, p. 193, n. 25. See above, p. 77.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Mommsen, *St. R.*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 1168, n. 2, Kornemann, *DR*, p. 23, Groag, *Studien zur Kaisergeschichte*, p. 42, n. 5, Ehrenberg, p. 203.

<sup>13</sup> Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 72, n. 3, 201, reserves his judgment.

<sup>14</sup> Poinssot, *Notes et Documents de la Direction des Antiquités de Tunisie*, 1929, pp. 14 f.; Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 11, *QA*, I, 1937, pp. 12 f., and *MAH*, 1932, p. 63; Carcopino, *MAH*, 1933, p. 23, Strong, *CAH*, X, p. 552, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 134, Maj, *RPAA*, 1936, p. 157, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 129 ff., etc. See also next note.

<sup>15</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, 1923/4, pp. 290 ff., later qualified in *BAF*, 1925, p. 209, n. 1. He also discusses the altar in *Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, XV, 1922, p. 142, *SEH*, pp. 44, 46, *SES*, p. 50; in the first he wrongly calls it an *Ara Gentis Iuliae*.

<sup>16</sup> Cagnat, *CRAI*, 1913, p. 684, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 130, n. 1.

two phrases. Augustus himself had pointed the distinction when he preferred his legislation to be known by the name of *leges Iuliae* rather than by the too autocratic designation (associated with a new "imperial" method) of *leges Augustae*.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand he had finally used the name "Augustus" in the gentile position,<sup>18</sup> and from 27 B.C. had allowed his colonies to be called *coloniae Augustae*,<sup>19</sup> the previous designation *colonia Iulia* not, indeed, becoming extinct<sup>20</sup> but perhaps being principally used henceforward for foundations associated with his vicegerents and relatives rather than with himself.<sup>21</sup> The new term *colonia Augusta* was more autocratic; and, similarly, *gens Augusta*, apparently introduced at a somewhat later date, carried less conservative associations than *gens Iulia*.

It is uncertain whether the Carthaginian altar of the *Gens Augusta* is earlier or later than the Corinthian temple of *Gens Iulia*. But they are not precisely parallel, for the former was a private dedication, whereas the Corinthian temple was evidently an official institution of the *colonia*. It is reasonable enough that P. Hedulus should adopt a more "advanced" phrase than the official issue of a colony. Roman citizens abroad would naturally go further in such respects than the cities to which they belonged, just as the official practice of those cities would outrun the practice of Rome itself.<sup>22</sup>

The *moderatio* of Tiberius made him likely to extend his official preference to the less precocious of the two designations, *Gens Iulia* (which alone appears on coins), not least because the name "Augustus" was so much more closely linked with his predecessor than with Tiberius himself.<sup>23</sup> Although little prominence was given to Julius Caesar at this time,<sup>24</sup> the *Iulii* were the family into which

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 147, von Premerstein, pp. 153, 157.

<sup>18</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 257, 293, n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, VIII, p. 179, Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 259 f.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. above, Chapter II, section v.

<sup>23</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. above, Chapter II, section i, and below, section iii.

he had been adopted in A.D. 4; and his mother, who was adopted into it posthumously by Augustus, from then onwards called herself IVLIA (as well as AVGVSTA) (Plate II, 4, V, 11 and 14, VI, 9, VII, 6, VIII, 11).<sup>25</sup> The younger men of the family, however, after they had reached a certain age and status,<sup>26</sup> did not do likewise: they were required to follow Tiberius in using the name CAESAR in the "gentile" position, unlike Augustus who had, in later life, preferred for it the place of the *praenomen*.<sup>27</sup> This "gentile" use of CAESAR, if it may be so described, soon brings us to phrases which approach, but never quite achieve, *Gens Caesarina*<sup>28</sup> or *Caesarum*. Thus before long we hear of *pontifex Caesarum*,<sup>29</sup> possibly *aeternitas Caesarum*,<sup>30</sup> and closest of all—*domus Caesarum*.<sup>31</sup> But this process never goes so far that we hear of a *gens* described in this way. For after all the *Gens* was the *Gens Iulia*, of which the ancient Republican history is recalled to us by the inscription at Bovillae. Incidentally, that inscription records their worship of Veiovis (a deity who likewise linked the family with Apollo Palatinus<sup>32</sup>); and a thunderbolt on the official coinage of Tiberius (for Divus Augustus), imitated at Achulla (no. 14: Plate I, 21), seems to carry a similar allusion<sup>33</sup> and so may, perhaps, likewise be related to the cult of the *Gens Iulia*; so possibly may Numa, whose statue stood by the altar.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See below, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>26</sup> The grandsons of Tiberius still appear, when very young, as Ti. Iulii Germanicus and Nero, e.g., on a lead piece at Berlin, Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182; Nero (Gemellus) has not yet become Ti. Caesar Drusi Caes. f., as on *CIL*, VI, 892.

<sup>27</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>28</sup> Even under Augustus at least one colony had apparently been described as *Caesarina*, i.e., Asido (Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 13). Cf. *Caesarea*, the epithet given to Pisidian Antioch, though for a special reason (*FITA*, p. 250—not Sinope, *ibid.*, p. 253).

<sup>29</sup> *CIL*, II, 2038 (Anticaria); cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 35, *id.*, *RIS*, p. 159.

<sup>30</sup> *ILS*, 163 (Tucci), as restored by Mommsen.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Wickert, *Klio*, 1940, p. 136. For *domus*, see later in this section. For the relation of *gens* with another kindred word *familia*, see Rolfe, *CP*, 1915, pp. 445 f., Du Four, p. 10, n. 15.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Pettazzoni, *Augustus*, p. 220.

<sup>33</sup> Mattingly, *NC*, 1930, pp. 132 f.

<sup>34</sup> Smith, *JRS*, 1926, pp. 99, 101, cf. above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

Public worship of the *Gens Iulia*, whether at Rome or by a colony, represented a step, even if a short one, in the direction of autocracy, since it stressed the idea of an imperial family. Among citizens, as well as among foreigners, this idea began increasingly to take shape under Tiberius.<sup>35</sup> As might be expected however, Tiberius himself, at Rome at least, discouraged this tendency. But, for all the caution of the Gythian decree,<sup>36</sup> he could not, or did not, stop the cities of the empire from considerably outstripping this *moderatio*. For example, *flamines* of Livia, Germanicus and Drusus were, in the earlier part of the reign and in their lifetimes, appointed even by *oppida civium Romanorum*.<sup>37</sup> Reference has been made to *domus Caesarum*, *aeternitas Caesarum*, *pontifex Caesarum* at peregrine communities; another was to have a *pontifex domus Augustae* some time during the first century.<sup>38</sup>

So this tendency—like those described in the last chapter—began at the periphery.<sup>39</sup> But the Roman poets too are in the van of such movements: Ovid uses *domus Augusta*,<sup>40</sup> and *domus Augusti*<sup>41</sup> as well, as does an Ostian inscription also.<sup>42</sup> Attention had begun to be deflected, even before the death of Tiberius, from the *gens* of the *princeps* to his *domus*.<sup>43</sup> This was a word of deceptive associations with the Republican groups<sup>44</sup> that did not prevent it from conveying the suggestion of a royal court and a dynasty.<sup>45</sup> Phaedrus,

<sup>35</sup> Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, id., *RIS*, p. 158.

<sup>36</sup> For references see Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>37</sup> *CIL*, XII, 3180, 3207, cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, p. 346, n. 3; *ILS*, 6896 (Olisipo), cf. Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 159, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34.

<sup>38</sup> *CIL*, II, 2105 (Urgavo), cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 34, n. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> *Ex Ponto*, II, 2, 76, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 131; cf. Philo, *In Flacc.*, 4, 23.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 1, 135, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 131, n. 1.

<sup>42</sup> *CIL*, XIV, Suppl. 4319, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, 130 f. *Domus Augusti* is much the rarer form: contrast the relative frequencies of *numen Augusti* and *numen Augustum*, which is exceptional (*CIL*, XI, 3303, cf. Taylor, *AJPh*, 1937, p. 189, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 40, n. 1, 47).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the "Virtues," Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. von Premerstein, p. 66.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 139. *Ibid.*, p. 129, the *gens* and *domus Augusta* are described as synonymous. But their emphases are different: *domus* stresses the "household" aspect, whereas the *gens* was a whole clan including several families.



writing after 31 A.D. and probably after 37,<sup>46</sup> speaks of the *divina domus*;<sup>47</sup> and inscriptions indicate that the same phrase was already being employed in the latter half of the principate of Tiberius. A Gallic community, Nasium, dedicates *pro perpetua salute divinae domus*,<sup>48</sup> apparently just after the fall of Sejanus.<sup>49</sup> The phrase *divina domus*<sup>50</sup> seems at first sight to anticipate the times of Nero or Domitian rather than to mirror the unpretentiousness of Tiberius, but in reality the phrase is not, in its inception, so adulatory to his person as it sounds: as so often its veneration is rather directed to his predecessor. For its meaning at this stage is not so much “the divine House” (though it is easy to see that confusion, and evolution towards that significance, could occur<sup>51</sup>) as “the house of the *divi*,” and, in particular, “the house of the *divus*”<sup>52</sup>—referring not to Julius<sup>53</sup> but Augustus, who had, incidentally, been called *divinus* by writers even in his lifetime.<sup>54</sup> The exceptional character of his posthumous position under Tiberius<sup>55</sup> makes it understandable that the Julian household—into which, after all, Tiberius himself had not even been born<sup>56</sup>—should have come to be described as the *domus* not so much of Tiberius the *princeps* as of Augustus the *divus*.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Rose, *Handbook of Latin Literature*, p. 358 and n. 52.

<sup>47</sup> *Fab.*, V, 7, 8, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 123, 128 and n. 3.

<sup>48</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 4635, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 137, cf. p. 132.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 112, n. 14.

<sup>50</sup> For references see particularly Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XI, 1932, pp. 11 ff., Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 86, n. 3, Pippidi, *RCI*, 11.cc., Ensslin, *SB München*, 1943 (VI), pp. 37, 71 ff.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 133 f.

<sup>52</sup> Mowat, *La Domus Divina et les Divi*, pp. 1 ff., cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1.

<sup>53</sup> As Mowat, *op. cit.* Julius was not emphasized at this time, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1; the *sidus Iulium* (cf. Scott, *CP*, 1941, p. 257) sometimes appears (e.g. no. 14: Plate I, 21) but it had become associated with Augustus.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. by Vitruvius, *prooem.*, *divina tua mens*, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1934, p. 32. Largus and Seneca wrote similarly of Claudius.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. below, section iii.

<sup>56</sup> Some imperial freedmen enfranchised by Tiberius even after A.D. 4 still seem to have been called Claudius rather than Julius, cf. Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 141 f.

These ideas of the *gens Iulia* and *Augusta*, and the *domus Augusta* and *divina*, were full of autocratic potentialities, but at Rome Tiberius kept them within ostensible Republican bounds. No doubt, too, he kept an eye on the practices, in such matters, of citizens outside Rome. But adulation went farther in the remoter citizen communities than in Rome, and farther still in the peregrine areas of the empire;<sup>57</sup> and the family feeling of Caligula greatly enhanced the Augustan house at Rome itself.<sup>58</sup> The *cives Romani* at Corinth under Tiberius were on the way to such developments; and Corinth, which alone commemorates the *Gens Iulia* on coinage, was well qualified to take the lead, for that colony had always taken a particular interest in the junior members of the imperial house.<sup>59</sup> However, even if the Corinthians missed no opportunities of flattery, the stage which they had reached on the way to dynasty-worship was a comparatively early one; and it may well be that the cult of the *Gens Iulia* there exceptionally recorded showed little deviation or development, other than by the inevitable addition of himself as *divus*, from the practice of Augustus.

## (ii) The younger Julio-Claudians

The representation by our colonies of the individual princes of the *Gens Iulia* does not go beyond Augustan precedent. Three and perhaps four of the fourteen *coloniae civium Romanorum* to which Tiberian coinage is here assigned—Hippo Diarrhytus, Thapsus, Corinth(?), Sinope (nos. 19, 26, 28, 31, 46, 53: Plate II, 6, III, 6, IV, 3, V, 9(?), 16)—portray Drusus junior (Thapsus several times). None of our colonies, however, seems to depict Germanicus.<sup>60</sup> This does not, however, much illuminate the problem, of which so much

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Gangra oath (3 B.C.) should perhaps be restored to include the phrase  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau[ἐκ] \rho\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{o}[\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\epsilon] \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ : von Premerstein, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Balsdon, pp. 29 ff., 41 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 268.

<sup>60</sup> This is on the assumption that a small Corinthian(?) piece with GER·—DRV· is not a colonial issue of Tiberius: see Appendix 1.

has been written lately,<sup>61</sup> of the relative position of the two princes while both were still alive. For the coins of Thapsus and Sinope to which reference has been made are demonstrably later than the death of Germanicus (A.D. 19); the same is almost certainly true of the issue of Hippo, and, according to Edwards,<sup>62</sup> of the Corinthian coin also (A.D. c. 22-23). The apparent absence of Germanicus and Drusus junior from the coinage of these cities during the first *quinquennium* of Tiberius provides a contrast to Spain, where five cities celebrated both these princes on their issues of that period (e.g. Plate VII, 5). These Spanish communities mostly preserved a nice balance as regards the relative importance of the two men<sup>63</sup> (as had Corinth even under Augustus—adding Agrippa Postumus as well<sup>64</sup>); only Romula seems slightly to prefer Germanicus (Plate VII, 7).<sup>65</sup>

Without throwing any light on the relative importance of the two princes while both were alive, our present coinages, like an issue of Tarraco,<sup>66</sup> merely illustrate the known elevation of Drusus junior, after the death of Germanicus, to a position which neither had enjoyed before A.D. 19.<sup>67</sup> This was the first occasion on which a *princeps* had raised his own son to such a position; and it has caused

<sup>61</sup> See Drexler, *Auf dem Wege zum nationalpolitischen Gymnasium*, 1939, p. 151, Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 151, Stuart, *CP*, 1940, pp. 64 ff., Allen, *TAPA*, 1941, pp. 1 ff., Betz, *JAIW*, 1943, *Beiblatt*, p. 131, especially Rogers, pp. 89 ff., and the probably right conclusion of Baldson, *JRS*, 1945, p. 146 (agreeing with Rogers, etc.), that there was little to choose between the two princes in this respect. But the somewhat cryptic testimony of Velleius II, 116.1, 125.4, 129.2, 130.3 f., needs reconsideration as a probable reflection of the official view of A.D. 30: Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 6, considers that he prefers Drusus to Germanicus.

<sup>62</sup> *Corinth*, VI, p. 20, no. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Cr. IVNCTIO at Ilici: Vives, IV, p. 42, no. 10; Plate VI, 6, Chapter II, section v.

<sup>64</sup> *FITA*, p. 268; cf. last section.

<sup>65</sup> Vives, IV, p. 124, no. 4 (GERMANICVS CAESAR TI·AVG·F·). This is—exceptionally—not paralleled, as far as we know, by a similar issue in honour of Drusus; though *ibid.* 2 offers the usual honours to the two princes together. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36, quotes an issue for Drusus junior at Italica: but there is a parallel one for Germanicus.

<sup>66</sup> Vives, IV, p. 132, no. 20 (DRVSVS CAES·TRIB·POT·, IVLIA AVGVSTA); cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 37, Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 48; Plate VII, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 433, Kuntz, *Tiberius Caesar and the Roman Constitution*, p. 58, Hammond, p. 239, nn. 42, 68.

the year 19 to be described as an important moment in Roman imperial history.<sup>68</sup> The issues of Sinope, Hippo and Thapsus suggest that this development was noticeable almost immediately after Germanicus died. The coin of Sinope (Plate V, 16) is dated to A.D. 19-20; and those of the two African cities were already being issued by A.D. 21.<sup>69</sup>

It is possible that Tiberius delegated to Drusus junior certain tasks of colonial foundation<sup>70</sup>—and even conceivably, through the latter's *tribunicia potestas* conferred in A.D. 22, the *ius senatus consulendi* comprising the right to become *auctor* of *senatusconsulta*.<sup>71</sup> An issue of colonia Tarraco inscribed DRVSVS CAES· TRIB· POT· (Plate VII, 3), may well celebrate the conferment of the *tribunicia potestas* itself; Tarraco, as a provincial centre, had already shewn signs of an interest in that power unusual for colonies and their coinages.<sup>72</sup> Corinth likewise was a leading colony, and one interested in potential heirs. Its issue honouring Drusus junior (?) (Plate V, 9) is ascribed to A.D. c. 22-23; thus it too may perhaps commemorate the conferment on Drusus of the tribunician power. But except for the fact that the elevation of the *princeps'* own son presented the dynastic aspect in an unprecedentedly vivid form, there was nothing exceptional about these honours to Drusus junior: for all of them precedents could be found, singly or severally, in the principate of Augustus.

Still less was there anything striking about the honours paid to Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, who, in part, took the place of Drusus junior as heirs to the principate after the latter's death.<sup>73</sup> One of our colonies, Corinth, offers a possible parallel (no. 47) to the numismatic honours accorded to them by *municipium*

<sup>68</sup> Kornemann, *DR*, p. 41.

<sup>69</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix 5.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>72</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. von Premerstein, p. 66 and n. 2, Wickert, *Klio*, 1939, p. 336, n. 2, Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, p. 243.

Tingis in Mauretania<sup>74</sup> and by Spanish colonies such as Caesaraugusta (Plate VI, 1) and Carthago Nova (Plate VI, 4).<sup>75</sup> At these Spanish cities the young princes are described as *duoviri* and *duoviri quinquennales* respectively.<sup>76</sup> Carthago Nova also shows a portrait of Caligula before the end of the principate of Tiberius (Plate VI, 3),<sup>77</sup> and at Caesaraugusta he is a *duovir* represented by a *praefectus*,<sup>78</sup> phenomena for which no parallel can be cited from the coinage of our non-Spanish colonies.<sup>79</sup>

But like Nero Germanici f. before him (and others before that), Caligula had a junior co-heir; and unlike Caligula, this co-heir, Ti. Julius Nero (Gemellus), the son of Drusus junior, seems to be represented among our issues. For on a coin of Paestum (no. 8: Plate I, 12-14) the legend, as far as it is decipherable, appears to be L·CAEL(ius) FLA(men) [TI·]AVG(usti), TI·CAESAR IIVIR(i).<sup>80</sup> The second duoviral name cannot be that of the *princeps* Tiberius: his name could not come second on a coin of his own principate,<sup>81</sup> to which the legend TI·AVG· (supported by iconographical considerations) ascribes this piece. But the tombstone of Ti. Gemellus confirms that his official style was, as might be expected, Ti. Caesar;<sup>82</sup> and the second name on the Paestan issue is likely to be his.

If this is so, we have a prince yielding the first place in a duoviral college to a "commoner." But there is no serious difficulty about this; and it is quite possible that, in the time of Augustus, an earlier *princeps*-to-be Tiberius had, at another Roman colony, Cnossus,

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix 2. This coin might be of Caligulan date, *NC*, 1948, p. 114.

<sup>75</sup> Vives, IV, pp. 82, 37, n. 37.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, p. 23 and n. 32. They held many such duovirates and quinquennialian duovirates, *ibid.*, pp. 24 and 37; for a possible example of the latter at Utica, see Appendix 2.

<sup>77</sup> Vives, IV, p. 37, no. 41.

<sup>78</sup> Vives, IV, p. 82, nos. 54 f.; cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>79</sup> For such honours cf. Kornemann, *DR*, p. 47, n. 7, Balsdon, p. 18 and n. 1.

<sup>80</sup> For L. Caelius see above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 263, against Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 91 (for Caesaraugusta; where Fulvianus is probably the *praefectus* of a prince). Indeed the *princeps* as *duovir* usually (though not always) lacked a colleague.

<sup>82</sup> *CIL*, VI, 892.

likewise taken second place.<sup>83</sup> Admittedly there the "commoner" had apparently been not merely *duovir* but *praefectus Augusti*, but the Paestan coin may present a partial parallel to this, for L. Caelius, even if not *praefectus Ti. Augusti*, may well have obtained similar priority on the grounds of his post as *flamen Ti. Augusti*.<sup>84</sup> this perhaps entitled him, rather than Ti. Gemellus, to the position of *duovir comitalis*, that is, senior *duovir*.<sup>85</sup> In view of the cautious attitude of the second *princeps* towards his last co-heirs, Caligula and Gemellus,<sup>86</sup> as earlier (to a less extent) to Nero and Drusus, it is not surprising to find Gemellus here not only in the second place but apparently also unrepresented by a *praefectus*: for in about the thirties A.D., after the fall of Nero and Drusus, the appointment of *praefecti* for younger princes decreased considerably in number and perhaps ceased altogether.<sup>87</sup>

If this interpretation of its coinage is correct, Paestum joins other *oppida civium Romanorum*, such as Alba Pompeia<sup>88</sup> and another,<sup>89</sup> in honouring Ti. Gemellus. But as usual the Roman cities did not go so far in the direction of dynastic flattery as peregrine Eastern cities. For example, Philadelphia placed his head on its coinage,<sup>90</sup> apparently still during the lifetime of his grandfather Tiberius,<sup>91</sup> in whose company a second coin, of an uncertain Asian mint, seems to represent him.<sup>92</sup> Caligula, then, did not monopolise the honours

<sup>83</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>84</sup> For this, see above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, p. 25.

<sup>85</sup> For this as the senior post, cf. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, p. 69, *FITA*, p. 196, n. 13 (Agrigentum).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, pp. 642, 652, etc.

<sup>87</sup> See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, pp. 26 f.

<sup>88</sup> *ILS*, 171.

<sup>89</sup> Giglioli, *Bullettino archeologico comunale di Roma*, 1930, pp. 150 f. = *AE*, 1933, p. 25, no. 94.

<sup>90</sup> Imhoof-Blumer, *LS*, p. 120, no. 24, correcting *GM*, p. 52(576), no. 47, cf. also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, VIII, p. 204, Gardthausen, *RE*, X, 536.

<sup>91</sup> The Tiberian portraiture, and the type of thunderbolt imitated from late Tiberian *aes* are against the suggestion of Imhoof-Blumer, *LS*, p. 120, cf. Bosch, II, 1, p. 24, that this was a memorial coinage.

<sup>92</sup> Cast at Winterthur: TIBEPI . . . laureate head of Tiberius to right—TIB· head of Gemellus(?) to right. For other honours to Gemellus by peregrine cities cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 624.

of heirship in the last period of Tiberius;<sup>93</sup> and indeed we know that so high an official as A. Avillius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt, believed in the prospects of Ti. Gemellus.<sup>94</sup> Our colonial coinages do not illuminate the earliest years of Gemellus, in which official issues of Rome<sup>95</sup> and Cyrene,<sup>96</sup> and lead tokens,<sup>97</sup> had represented him with his twin brother Ti. Julius Germanicus.<sup>98</sup>

The heirs of Tiberius received honours in these cases less conspicuous, and in no case more conspicuous, than had the heirs of Augustus during the latter's lifetime. Indeed, none of the heirs of Tiberius possessed the power and *auctoritas* which he himself had attained during the last years of his adoptive father's lifetime; though Drusus junior might well have achieved these before long if he had lived.

### (iii) Divus Augustus

To the question of his heirs and their honours, Tiberius could apply his customary Augustan yard-stick. But a situation to which no such criterion could be applied was provided by the death and deification of Augustus himself.<sup>99</sup> The position of the new *divus* was much greater than had been that of Divus Julius in the preceding principate.<sup>100</sup> The outstanding character of the reputation of Divus Augustus in the decades immediately following his death is illustrated by his predominance on the official coinages of Tiberi-

<sup>93</sup> As Balsdon, p. 18.

<sup>94</sup> Philo, *In Flacc.*, 9, 22, cf. Gelzer, *RE*, X, 384, Balsdon, p. 132.

<sup>95</sup> *BMC Imp.*, I, p. 133, no. 95 (busts in *cornuacopiae*).

<sup>96</sup> *BMC Cyrenaica*, pp. ccxxv ff., p. 121, nos. 49 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182: Berlin collection (TI·IVLIVS GER· TI· IVLIVS NERO).

<sup>98</sup> On the deceased elder brother of these princes see Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, p. 234, n. 3, Rogers, pp. 95, 96, n. 23.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the attempts of Tiberius to achieve a titulature that would not invite comparison, see above Chapter II, section i.

<sup>100</sup> For the "soft-peddalling" of Julius under Augustus see Syme, *RR*, pp. 317 f., *JRS*, 1938, p. 125, *FITA*, p. 442; for a continuance of this under Tiberius see Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, pp. 23, 36, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 132, n. 1, cf. above, section i, and Chapter II, section i.

us.<sup>101</sup> Nor do the Tiberian mintages of Roman colonies and *municipia* fall short in this respect. Ten of them show portraits of the deified first *princeps*. These include our non-Spanish *coloniae* Panormus, Achulla, Dyrrhachium, Corinth and Cnossus (?) (nos. 11, 14, 41, 42 and 49: Plate I, 16, 21, V, 1, 3, 4, 11, 12); while in Spain the same phenomenon occurs at the Roman colonies of Romula, Emerita (Plate VII, 8), Tarraco and Caesaraugusta, and at *municipium* Turiaso. In each case the head of the deified Augustus is radiate, except only at Cnossus (?), where it seems to be bare.

This great emphasis on Divus Augustus is appropriate to the vast part played by his posthumous figure—despite the customary *moderatio* as regards extravagant flattery of his memory<sup>102</sup>—in Tiberian policy. The present writer has, in *Roman Anniversary Issues*, endeavoured to illustrate the punctilious and repeated care with which Tiberius celebrated Augustan anniversaries, and indeed to show that the occasions for his official coinage largely consisted of these.<sup>103</sup> It has been suggested that the Tiberian phrase *divina domus* originally meant “the House of *the* DIVUS,” namely Augustus;<sup>104</sup> and similarly, when Tiberius commemorated *decennia* and *vicennia*, he was commemorating the anniversaries not so much of his own rule as of the deification of Augustus. For many years after the latter’s death, the cities of the empire continued to coin in his name.<sup>105</sup> Tiberius’ own name “Augustus” was still far more closely associated with the dead man than with the ruling emperor,<sup>106</sup> and *Victoria*, *Felicitas*, *Pax Augusti*, etc., under Tiberius carried an allusion to Augustus himself.<sup>107</sup> Indeed it sometimes seemed as though Tiberius never considered himself more than a regent on earth for the real *princeps*, still Augustus. The second principate

<sup>101</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 124, 130, 134, 136, 140 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Rogers, pp. 72, 84, etc.

<sup>103</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III.

<sup>104</sup> See above, section i, p. 97.

<sup>105</sup> *FITA*, pp. 328 ff., 463 ff.

<sup>106</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>107</sup> See above, Chapter II, sections iii and iv.



witnessed the vital stages in the development of the vastly important institution of *divus* worship;<sup>108</sup> and, like the cognate institution of the *divina domus*, it centred round Augustus.

The main formulae by which the official coinage of Tiberius honoured Augustus were two in number—DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, which figured largely on the *aes*<sup>109</sup> (as well as at Emerita [Plate VII, 8] and Tarraco), and DIVOS AVGVST· DIVI F·, on the official gold and silver.<sup>110</sup> None of our five colonies which commemorated Augustus imitated either of these titulatures exactly. Likewise, no parallel is found to the DEO AVGVSTO illustrating a temple on one of Tarraco's coins (Plate VI, 8);<sup>111</sup> this phrase soon recurs on inscriptions<sup>112</sup> and in writings,<sup>113</sup> but it does not reach the official coinage until an Augustan anniversary as late as Gallienus.<sup>114</sup>

Four of the five non-Spanish colonies celebrating Augustus can be dismissed very briefly: Panormus (Plate I, 16) and Corinth (Plate V, 4) add no descriptive legend to their portraits of Augustus, whereas Cnossus (?) (Plate V, 11, 12) and probably Achulla (Plate I, 21) describe him in the simplest orthodox form—DIVOS AVG. At Dyrrhachium, on the other hand, though the radiate head shows that the coins were posthumous, we find merely AVG·, accompanied by no indication of divinity (no. 41: Plate V, 1, 3). This is a phenomenon to which Pella (nos. 34, 37: Plate IV, 6, 9) provides a parallel in the form given to the patronymic of the reigning

<sup>108</sup> For a recent short bibliography see Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 11, n. 2. Add d'Ors Pérez Peix, *Emerita*, 1942, pp. 197 ff., id., *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 1942/3, pp. 33 ff. (the latter not seen by the present writer), Sullivan, *Classical Weekly*, 1944.

<sup>109</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>110</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 124, nos. 28 f. Entirely irregular (and aiming only at symmetry) is the *Divo Caesari divi Iulii f. Augusto* of *ILS*, 115: cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 108, n. 4.

<sup>111</sup> Vives, IV, p. 131, nos. 10-13. For a recent bibliography see d'Ors Pérez Peix, *Emerita*, 1942, p. 205, n. 1.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 9495, cf. Abaecherli (now Abaecherli-Boyce), *SMSR*, 1935, p. 179, Saria, *JAIW*, 1941, *Beiblatt*, p. 8. Cf. *Liviae Augusti deae municipium*, *CIL*, X, 7464, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 913.

<sup>113</sup> For a study of *Caesari deo nostro* (Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, XIV, 9), see Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 75 ff.; p. 93 for Martial, *Epigr.*, II, 59, V, 64, 6 (Augustus as *deus*).

<sup>114</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VII, section i.

*princeps*: he is described as TI· CAESAR AVG·F·AVGVSTVS. This omission of *divus* and *deus* occurs also in early literature—for example in the writings of (Valerius ?) Largus<sup>115</sup>—as well as in inscriptions.<sup>116</sup> In the East it recalls the use of plain Σεβαστός, without Θεός, that prevailed at peregrine cities for many years after the death of Augustus;<sup>117</sup> and it seems probable that Dyrrhachium and Pella, being Eastern, are merely translating this usage into Latin. Αὐγούστος was occasionally used in the same way;<sup>118</sup> and an even closer parallel to our coins of Dyrrhachium is provided by *colonia Olbasa*, of which the first known issues, under Antoninus Pius, bear portraits of Divus Augustus inscribed merely AVGVSTVS.<sup>119</sup> Under Hadrian, likewise in the East, the same phenomenon was found on the official coinage, in which silver tetradrachms, apparently issued on an anniversary occasion, bore heads of Augustus inscribed IMP· CAESAR AVGVSTVS, again without DIVVS.<sup>120</sup> It has been argued elsewhere by the present writer that these usages are owed to the νέος Θεός—Θεὸς ἐπιφανής conception.<sup>121</sup>

The comparable omission of DIVVS from the Tiberian pieces here attributed to Dyrrhachium is not surprising. But it calls for more comment at Pella. For Pella, unlike Dyrrhachium, was in the old Royal Macedonia. There, even peregrine cities described the divine Augustus on their coins, not merely as Σεβαστός—as (with overwhelming regularity) did the rest of the Greek world—but as Θεὸς Σεβαστός<sup>122</sup> (Θεός representing *divus*).<sup>123</sup> The present writ-

<sup>115</sup> Helmreich, 31, 177, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 144.

<sup>116</sup> E.g. *CIL*, XIII, 4635 (?) (Nasium), *CIL*, III, 1698 = 138136, *ILS*, 151, 161, 2281, 3320, 5516; a number of these are irregular in other respects also. Cf. Abaecherli, *SMSR*, 1935, p. 164, n. 1, Vulić, *Klio*, 1942, p. 177.

<sup>117</sup> *FITA*, p. 360.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>119</sup> Hill, *Anatolian Studies to Ramsay*, p. 221, cf. *FITA*, p. 361.

<sup>120</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, III, p. 395, no. 1094, cf. pp. clvii, clxi, *RAI*, Chapter V, section iii.

<sup>121</sup> *FITA*, pp. 360 f.

<sup>122</sup> *FITA*, p. 374.

<sup>123</sup> Dio Cassius was to prefer ἡλθεος (Pippidi, *RHSE*, 1941 = *AT*, p. 136, n. 2, Carcopino, *Points de Vue sur L'Impérialisme Romain*, p. 120, n. 4), no doubt thinking of the distinction between *divus* and *deus* (Schwering, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1914/15, pp. 1 ff., 39 f., Weber, p. 86\*, n. 399, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 93, n. 3, 95).

er has ascribed this practice, peculiar to Royal Macedonia, to a survival of the traditional Antigonid distaste for the worship of living rulers.<sup>124</sup> This sentiment seems to have motivated the addition of the word *Θεός* to distinguish the dead from the living ruler, a distinction which was blurred to Greeks living elsewhere but seems to have meant something to the Greek communities of Macedonia. However, this attitude does not seem to have been shared by their Roman neighbour Pella, which calls Tiberius AVG·F· rather than DIVI AVG· F. If Pella is translating from the Greek, it ignored the “Antigonid” practice of the Greek cities of Macedonia, and, like Dyrrhachium at the other end of the *Via Egnatia* (outside Royal Macedonia), followed the ordinary Greek practice of considering the word *Σεβαστός* (alone) to carry the significance of actual deification.

But this explanation, based as it is on the assumption of a Hellenising usage, will scarcely suit two Spanish cities, *colonia Caesar-augusta*<sup>125</sup> and *municipium Turiaso*,<sup>126</sup> which omit *divus* in precisely the same way but are unlikely to have been inspired by Greek ways of thought. Perhaps these cities were the more ready to omit the divine epithet owing to an imperfect understanding of the *nuances* of ruler-worship in Italy itself. The living Augustus had never officially been *deus* or even *divus* to citizens,<sup>127</sup> but his *Genius*<sup>128</sup> and his *Numen*<sup>129</sup> had been worshipped; so Caesaraugusta and Turiaso—and the same may apply to some extent to Dyrrhachium and Pella—perhaps did not realise that the worship, in Augustus’ lifetime, of his *Genius* and *Numen* was not the same thing as worshipping his

<sup>124</sup> *FITA*, pp. 374 f.

<sup>125</sup> Vives, IV, p. 82, no. 53.

<sup>126</sup> Vives, IV, p. 94, no. 18.

<sup>127</sup> But for the usage of Horace, etc., see now D. Norberg, *Eranos Rudbergianus*, 1946, pp. 389 ff.

<sup>128</sup> Sources are given by Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 9 ff., 19, n. 1. Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 112, n. 67, quotes the unknown Aufustius in a definition of the half-divine status of the *Genius*: *Genius . . . est deorum filius et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur* (Verrius Flaccus, in the epitome of Festus epitomised by Paulus Diaconus, p. 214[L]).

<sup>129</sup> References in Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 9 ff., 47 ff. (49, n. 3), 193 ff. See also now Wagenvoort, pp. 73 ff.

living person. If they had worshipped him in his lifetime, it was hardly necessary to add *divus* to his name when he was dead.

These colonial usages are only minor aberrations, which vary slightly the general picture of Divus Augustus drawn by Tiberian officials and cities. The unlimited reiteration of the theme, in one guise or another, bears witness to the dilemma with which Tiberius was faced. Careful as he was to regulate all other matters (such as the honours to younger relatives) by Augustan precedents, precedents could not be applied to the posthumous position of their creator any more than they could be applied to his own titlature.

#### (iv) Julia Augusta

##### A. JULIA AUGUSTA AS GODDESS AND "VIRTUE"

Tiberius could not, then, apply his customary standard, that of the practice of Augustus, to the position after death of that *princeps* himself. The same difficulty applied, with even greater force, to the entirely new position of the widow of Augustus after the latter's death. Livia appears on the coinages of the empire, and of the colonies which are the subject of the present study, in three more or less distinct rôles—as goddess, as "Virtue," and as priestess. In the present section the first two of these manifestations will be briefly considered in turn.

Livia appears as a goddess at Thapsus if the legend should be restored IVN(o) AVG(*usta*) (or the Dative) (nos. 22, 23: Plate III, 1, 2). At the same city we find a dedication to a seated figure inscribed CERERI AVGVSTAE (no. 21: Plate II, 9); while a representation at Panormus (no. 12: Plate I, 17) shows another, resembling the "Livia as priestess" type,<sup>180</sup> but with the corn-ears which, at Thapsus, both accompany Ceres and also encircle the head of IVN·AVG. Of the Panormus coin more will be said later; but Thapsus at least, on these two different coins, seems to identify Livia

<sup>180</sup> On this see subsection B.

with Juno and Ceres respectively—and these identifications of her are here the commonest of all such associations.<sup>131</sup> They are both paralleled at peregrine cities.<sup>132</sup> Both were current well before the death of Augustus.<sup>133</sup> In the reign of her son, under whom she possessed local *flamines* and *flaminicae*,<sup>134</sup> Livia was described by *colonia* Romula as GENETRIX ORBIS<sup>135</sup> (Plate VII, 6) and in Gaul as Maia.<sup>136</sup> In the East she seems to have been identified with Hecate<sup>137</sup> and perhaps Isis.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Taylor, *DRE*, p. 232. For Livia as Juno, see especially Ward, *SMSR*, 1933, pp. 221 ff. (cf. Augustus as Jupiter, *ibid.*, pp. 203 ff.); cf. on the Ludovisi Juno, Jongkees, *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van te Antieke Beschaving*, XVII, 1, pp. 13 ff. Livia's figure on the "Paris Cameo" is described as Ceres, e.g. by Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1934, p. 120, but Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, cf. n. 1, suggests that there she may rather be in the rôle of *Felicitas*. Her prominence on this cameo is emphasized by Kornemann, *DR*, p. 38, n. 1; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634; Last, *JRS*, 1943, p. 105; cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 156. On the "Vienna Cameo" (*Gemma Augustea*) she is described by Schwartz, *RPh.*, 1945, p. 60, as in the rôle of "Latin Ceres."

The value of these cameos as historical evidence is affected by the uncertainty of their dates. For the "Paris Cameo" see Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 227 ff., *ibid.*, 1943, p. 144, against Schweitzer, Curtius, Piganiol, etc. The "Vienna Cameo" is usually considered Augustan, but it is attributed with some plausibility to the reign of Tiberius by Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, II, *Rome*, p. 186.

<sup>132</sup> E.g. Ceres at Sardes, Tralles, Syedra, Thessalonica, Panormus; Juno at Pergamum, Tarsus and Perinthus. This list contains doubtful cases, which cannot be discussed here.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 120 (cf. 119, 121), cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxvi. But Rohde, *RE*, XVIII, 1, 753, against Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*, II, p. 23, Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 226, n. 21, discounts the possibility that the Roman altars to Ceres and Ops in 7 A.D. were in honour of Livia.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 6896, 7160.

<sup>135</sup> Vives, IV, p. 124, n. 3, cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, p. 99, n. 2 (*κοσμοκράτωρ* idea), Willrich, p. 57, Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 206, 422, n. 22, who points out that the crescent under the bust anticipates the ruler-portrait of the Severi. Possibly the Boscoreale cup depicts Livia as Venus Genetrix, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 128, Rostovtzeff, *SEH*, p. 76 = *SES*, Plates VII, XIII; cf. perhaps also the Ravenna relief (Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 913, Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 229, Seltman, *loc. cit.*, p. 160, etc.) and coins of Agrippias Caesarea, *BMC. Pontus*, etc., p. 1, nos. 1 ff., *Ars Classica* (Levis) sale XI (1925), 264, Willrich, p. 67. Ovid describes Livia as Venus and Vesta, cf. Ollendorff, *loc. cit.*, 914. Colin, *RA*, 1946, pp. 40 ff., stresses the importance attached to Venus in this principate.

But the crescent also recalls the Stoic doctrine *Minervam esse Lunam*, Arnobius 3.31, cf. Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 107, n. 39, and next note but one.

<sup>136</sup> *ILS*, 3208, cf. Link, *RE*, xiv, 533.

<sup>137</sup> Buresch, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 116 and n. 4, doubted by Willrich, p. 67, who, however, cites also *CIL*, XI, 3859, *Diana Augusta*. Cf. also last note but one (end).

<sup>138</sup> *IGRR*, I, 1150, cf. Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 917, Buresch, *loc. cit.*

Much has been written on these themes, but the two usages of Thapsus appear to introduce certain novelties. In the first place, if they refer to Livia, they are well ahead of the practice of main official coinages, on which, at least during her lifetime, Livia was identified with no goddess at all. Secondly, the official coinage calls no goddess *Augusta* until the principate of Claudius, when Ceres is described in this way.<sup>139</sup>

In the CERES AVGVSTA of Claudius, it is not customary to discover a reference to Livia<sup>140</sup> or any other imperial lady; similarly, it is often unlikely that "Virtues" on official issues had any such intentions.<sup>141</sup> These considerations might inspire doubts whether the IVN·AVG· and CERERI AVGVSTAE of Thapsus under Tiberius were really designed to carry any allusion to her. But, on the whole, the Thapsus pieces do not seem to warrant such doubts. The Juno head looks like Livia; and it was easier, in her lifetime, for colonial issues to associate her with Ceres and Juno than for Roman coinage to do so. Indeed after her death, too, Claudius may have wished to compare her to the goddess Ceres by his numismatically unprecedented addition of the word "Augusta" to the latter's name, since it was he who consecrated Livia.<sup>142</sup> If so, his gesture may to some extent have been anticipated by another official mint, namely that of Alexandria, at which, even under Augustus, the closely related concept *Euthenia* may conceivably have been intended to represent Livia.<sup>143</sup>

If we hold that the *Ceres Augusta* of Thapsus is Livia, we are justified in asking whether the same does not apply, at an earlier date, to the appearance of the same deity on an issue of *colonia* Lystra

<sup>139</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 183, no. 136. The first personification to be called *Augusta* on the official coinage was *Salus* under Tiberius, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 131, no. 81.

<sup>140</sup> Though this is perhaps suggested by *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. clvi.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. *RAI*, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 498.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 1, no. 23; this is the interpretation of Willrich, p. 67, n. 1. In the principate of Augustus Livia had also appeared on an official coinage of Bithynia (M. Granius Marcellus, *FITA*, p. 145), and at *municipium* Turiaso (*ibid.*, p. 169, and n. 2).

reading CERERIS:<sup>144</sup> at any rate this is the suggestion which the type might convey to those who saw it. But this Lystra coin shows no sign of AVGVSTAE, and, on reconsideration of its portrait, it should be reattributed from Augustus to Claudius.<sup>145</sup> Thus it is not the earliest colonial issue to name Ceres; and the *princeps* under whom this first occurred seems to have been Tiberius, at Thapsus.<sup>146</sup> A minor innovation of this kind was not out of keeping with his policy, since he paid great attention to the corn-supply,<sup>147</sup> and also restored the temple which Ceres shared with Liber and Libera.<sup>148</sup>

*Ceres Augusta* has a familiar ring, but *Juno Augusta* is most unusual: throughout the imperial coinage of all periods we find instead merely IVNO. We may compare other rare non-Roman occurrences, with the same Augustan epithet, of Apollo, Mercury, Minerva, Vesta and Diana.<sup>149</sup> On no. 22 of Thapsus (IVN·AVG·), the bust has been interpreted as showing a wreath of corn-ears; such a wreath is also found round Livia's head, not only on peregrine issues, but on a lead piece of Rome itself.<sup>150</sup> At Thapsus, again, nos. 25, 27 and 30, as well as no. 12 at Panormus (Plate III, 5 and 7, IV, 2 and I, 17-18) modify the well-known "Livia as priestess" type<sup>151</sup> to place in her hand, instead of the usual priestly *patera*, two ears of corn. These suggest an analogy with the corn-wreathed heads at Thapsus labelled as IVN·AVG·; whereas our other "Livia as priestess" figures, in all cases where they are explicitly labelled, are described not in terms of goddesses, but as IVLIA AVGVSTA (nos. 18, 49 and 51: Plate II, 4, V, 11; cf. also VIII, 11)—as at Ro-

<sup>144</sup> *FITA*, p. 250, and Plate VIII, 11 there.

<sup>145</sup> The obverse legend will then terminate (or begin) with the words IMP·AVG. This designation might seem inappropriate to Claudius; but Lystra was a long way from Rome, and in any case IMP·AVG· might be Divus Augustus (cf. last section).

<sup>146</sup> For Ceres (unnamed) under Augustus, see *FITA*, pp. 224, 258.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Rogers, p. 19, etc.

<sup>148</sup> Rogers, p. 18.

<sup>149</sup> Charlesworth, *JRS*, 1943, p. 7, n. 37, Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 249 f., cf. Pippidi, *RCl*, pp. 16 f. (references).

<sup>150</sup> Berlin collection: Dressel, *ZfN*, 1922, p. 182 (A·VITELLIVS CVR·).

<sup>151</sup> See below, subsection B.

man cities in Spain (e.g. Plate VI, 9). Thus they differ from our coins of Thapsus and Panormus, on which the human suggestion of the priestess type is combined with an emblem and inscription recalling divinity. Possibly the colonials themselves suffered from a *haesitatio iudicii* on the humanity or divinity of Livia; and the letter of Tiberius to Gythium<sup>152</sup> show how cryptic his instructions on this matter were.

Indeed, a loophole for ambiguity is left by the legend IVN·AVG· itself. For this could mean not only “[to] Juno Augusta”—which is, as has been said, a very rare combination—but also “[to] the *iuno* of the Augusta,” for which, in connection with Livia, there are epigraphic parallels.<sup>153</sup> The *iuno* of a woman was the same as the *genius* of a man;<sup>154</sup> the *genius Augusti* and *iuno Augustae* were Augustan adaptations of traditional ideas.<sup>155</sup> The citizens of Thapsus may well have chosen the ambiguous legend IVN·AVG· deliberately so as to convey both interpretations, *Iuno Augusta* and *iuno Augustae*, simultaneously: for, not only were actual *doubles entendres* on local coinages not unknown,<sup>156</sup> but official Tiberian coin-types, too, often combined a blend of different suggestions and significances.<sup>157</sup>

At all events, the IVN·AVG· and CERERI AVGVSTAE coinages of Thapsus seem to have intended some measure of identification of Livia with Juno and Ceres. In possessing and pursuing this in-

<sup>152</sup> Recent contributions to a vast literature include those of Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 210 ff., *GR*, pp. 90 ff., Scramuzza, *AJP*, 1944, pp. 404 ff., Charlesworth, *Papers of British School at Rome*, XV, pp. 5 ff., Montevicchi, *Epigraphica*, VII, 1945, pp. 104 ff. (references).

<sup>153</sup> *ILS*, 116, 120; for doubtful examples cf. Taylor, *AJP*, 1937, p. 190, but see Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 198 and n. 2; and Grether, *AJP*, 1946, p. 225 and n. 12.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 135, cf. pp. 87 f., n. 21, Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup>, p. 180, Weinstock, *JRS*, 1946, p. 127, Wagenvoort, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>155</sup> Nock, *CAH*, X, pp. 480, 484. For a supposed connection of *Genius Augusti* with *Gens Iulia* cf. Poinssot, *Notes et Documents de la Direction des Antiquités de Tunisie*, 1929, pp. 14 ff.; cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 35, *RH*, 1936, pp. 314, 333. For an Augustan coin of *municipium Italica* with GEN(ius) P(opuli) R(omani), see *FITA*, p. 173, cf. perhaps later at Philippi, Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 24; for this conception see Blanchet, *CRAI*, 1943, July-Sept.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 280.

<sup>157</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, especially section i; and *NC*, 1949 (in press).



tention, the citizens of Thapsus were, perhaps, behaving less like their fellow *cives Romani* of Rome than like the *peregrini* of Asia.<sup>158</sup> The same is even more clearly true of *colonia* Romula with its extravagant GENETRIX ORBIS (Plate VII, 6).

We may now turn to the "Virtues," as certain of the *numina* consisting of personifications are nowadays called.<sup>159</sup> Admittedly the line between goddesses and "Virtues" is sometimes a little uncertain, but it exists.<sup>160</sup> The present writer has elsewhere emphasized the general and composite character of the "Virtues" which are found on the official issues of Tiberius.<sup>161</sup> These "Virtues" on his coinage do not seem to have been primarily intended to compliment Livia, though the imperial authorities probably recognised her as one of the fairly numerous elements in the blend of associations conjured up by the concepts of *Iustitia*, *Iustitia-Pax* and *Pietas*. On the other hand the peregrine East naturally experienced no more difficulty in identifying her with "Virtues" or "Blessings" such as Tyche<sup>162</sup> (if it is right to describe her thus), Pronoia,<sup>163</sup> Hygieia,<sup>164</sup> etc., than it experienced in equating her with goddesses.

Where do the *coloniae civium Romanorum* stand in the wide space between these two poles? In this case they seem to stand rather nearer to Rome than to the *peregrini*; but there are none the less some notable deviations from metropolitan practice. Pompeii describes her as *Concordia Augusta* on an inscription,<sup>165</sup> and Pella (nos. 38, 39: Plate IV, 10) not only imitates the Roman PIETAS

<sup>158</sup> So were Italian colonies: cf. the many local priests of Tiberius himself, inside and outside Italy, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 493.

<sup>159</sup> For the description of "Virtues" as *numina* see Mattingly, *HTR*, 1937, pp. 108 f., *BMC. Imp.*, IV, p. xxv, *JRS*, 1943, p. 77.

<sup>160</sup> For a definition of the "Virtues" see Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 11, 28; he distinguishes "Blessings," cf. Grant, *Univ. of Edinburgh Review*, 1949, p. 232.

<sup>161</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III.

<sup>162</sup> E.g. at Gythium: see references above, n. 152.

<sup>163</sup> Willrich, p. 67, cf. n. 3, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 907, 917 (references), Buresch, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, p. 116.

<sup>164</sup> *IG*, III, 460 (Athens), cf. Ollendorff, loc. cit., 907.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 19, n. 1. Ibid., his conjecture that she appears as *Felicitas* on the Paris cameo.

but also adds PIETAS AVGVSTA, to which we may compare the PIETATI[S] AVGVSTAE of Caesaraugusta.<sup>166</sup> It is possible that these colonials, less *versés* than Romans, interpreted the accompanying heads quite simply as Livia; indeed a similar head at Panormus (no. 13: Plate I, 20) is described as plain AVGVS(*ta*). The same almost certainly applies to the issues of other colonies such as Corinth (no. 34: Plate V, 8; cf. no. 43: Plate V, 5) and Patrae (under Caligula),<sup>167</sup> on which similar heads are not labelled.

In the cases of Pella and Caesaraugusta, this same desire to identify the "Virtue" with Livia may have been the purpose of the AVGVSTA added to the name of *Pietas*. But this assumption is by no means necessary. For why should we consider *Pietas Augusta* to be Livia, when we do not necessarily consider *Pax Augusta*, on official coinages or elsewhere, to refer to her? PACE AVG· PERP· at Carthage(?) (no. 17: Plate II, 3) surely has no such meaning.<sup>168</sup> Nor has the *Salus Augusta* invoked by an inscription after the conspiracy of Sejanus,<sup>169</sup> and nor, in all probability, has AETERNITATI[S] AVGVSTAE at Tarraco (Plate VII, 2) and Emerita (Plate VII, 8).<sup>170</sup> But there remains an obstinate suspicion that the citizens of Pella intended PIETAS AVGVSTA, to which the epithet was added by themselves, to reflect honour on Livia in a more direct fashion than did the original PIETAS design placed by their metropolitan counterparts on the coinage of Rome. Even if so, Pella was not behaving in any extraordinary fashion; and indeed, thus far, few or no honours to Livia have been noted which might not also have been found during the principate of Augustus.

<sup>166</sup> Vives, IV, p. 80, 37, cf. Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 92, no. 19, cf. p. 96.

<sup>167</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>168</sup> See above, Chapter II, section iv.

<sup>169</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 4635; see above, section i. Cf. SALVS AVGVSTA imitated from Rome by Emerita, Vives, IV, p. 67, no. 66, and SAL·AVG· at Ilici (Plate VI, 7), Vives, IV, p. 41, no. 6, Rogers, p. 28, n. 114. The colonials are very likely to have identified *Salus* with Livia (now deceased, *FITA*, p. 447)—cf. Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36—even if this was not the intention at Rome.

<sup>170</sup> See above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

## B. JULIA AUGUSTA AS PRIESTESS

There is greater novelty in this subject. This comprises the well-known type of Livia seated to right, veiled, with *patera* and sceptre. This occurs, in almost identical form, at no less than seven of our cities, namely Paestum, Carthage(?), Hippo Diarrhytus, Dium, Corinth, Cnossus(?) and Pisidian Antioch (nos. 4, 15, 18, 35, 46, 49 and 52: Plate I, 5, II, 1, 4, IV, 5, V, 9, 11, 15)—as well as at *municipia* Italica and Utica (Plate VIII, 8, 9), and *coloniae* Caesar-augusta (Plate VI, 2) and Emerita (Plate VI, 9).<sup>171</sup> This much favoured type is directly imitated from a vast series of official *asses* with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (Plate VIII, 13),<sup>172</sup> or from an identical representation on further *asses* of Tiberius dated to A.D. 15-16 (Plate VIII, 12).<sup>173</sup> These two series constitute practically the whole of the important category<sup>174</sup> of his "accession" *aes*.<sup>175</sup>

Doubts that the figure on this large range of coinage was intended to represent Livia<sup>176</sup> are removed by the accompanying legends IVL·AVG· at Hippo Diarrhytus (Plate II, 4), and the same two names written in full as IVLIA AVGVSTA at Emerita, Caesar-augusta and Italica. Indeed a further issue that even appears to be official (of Cyprus[?]) (Plate VIII, 11)<sup>177</sup> represents the same figure with the same inscription. It may therefore be confidently assumed that the identical figure on the central official *asses* of Tiberius and Divus Augustus, as well as at all these eleven Roman

<sup>171</sup> Thus there is one in each of the three Spanish provinces.

<sup>172</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 141, no. 151, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1941, pp. 102 ff., *ibid.*, Plate I, 1-10.

<sup>173</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 128, no. 65.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>175</sup> The only exception is a particularly rare *as* with wreath and chair, which was probably commemorative, and never current coin (cf. *RAI*, Chapter III, section iii, and for the theme Diez, *JAIW*, 1946, p. 107).

<sup>176</sup> E.g. Hill, *NC*, 1914, p. 303 ("Gens Iulia"—on the idea, see above, section i), cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 115, 125, who compares with representations of divinities.

<sup>177</sup> Hill, *NC*, 1914, pp. 299 ff., no. 12a (attributed to Antioch in Pisidia), Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 30, no. 1 (to Parium). It is just possible that an ethnic is missing from the exergue.

cities, likewise represents Livia. It is true that a seated figure on contemporary *aurei* and *denarii* (which, however, carries different emblems and was inaugurated under Augustus rather than Tiberius<sup>178</sup>) perhaps represented, in the first instance at least, not Livia, but the composite divinity *Iustitia-Pax*.<sup>179</sup> But that type is rarely if ever imitated by the Roman cities, and is never labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA like the figure on the *aes*. The latter seems to represent Livia neither as a goddess nor as a "Virtue" but as a priestess,<sup>180</sup> veiled and with characteristic *patera*.<sup>181</sup> It was easier for the official mints, which concentrated to so great an extent on this type, to represent Livia as a priestess than as a deity or even a "Virtue," matters in which imperial policy had certain reservations. A Vienna sardonyx, probably of post-Augustan date, seems to show Livia in the same rôle of priestess;<sup>182</sup> so perhaps does a statue from Pompeii with the same *terminus post quem*,<sup>183</sup> and a bust in the Uffizi gallery.<sup>184</sup>

The belief that it is as priestess that Livia figures in these representations, as on coins, is confirmed by historical considerations. On the death of Augustus, Livia became priestess of the new *divus*; and Gagé<sup>185</sup> is right in pointing out that—in close accordance with the Augustan emphasis on priesthoods—it was this office which formed the occasion of her chief honours at Rome.<sup>186</sup> Ovid writes

<sup>178</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, p. 91, no. 544. Mattingly's distinction of the Augustan and Tiberian types is, in the present writer's opinion, unjustifiable. Another late Augustan seated female figure (on an *aes* piece of M. Granius Marcellus in Bithynia) is described in *FITA*, p. 145, as Livia; but, whether this is true or not, she does not provide a precedent for the priestess type since she carries a *cornucopiae*; nor does she appear to be veiled.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>180</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxiii and n. 4, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 16, Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 208.

<sup>181</sup> For this as the priestly emblem cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cciv, n. 2.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Aschbach, *Livia Gemahlin des Kaisers Augustus*, Plate III, 2, Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 924.

<sup>183</sup> Maiuri, *Villa dei Misteri*, pp. 223 ff., cf. Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 168. Cf. the Uffizi altar under Augustus, *ibid.*, p. 136 (A.D. 2).

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte rendu aux Empereurs romains*, p. 29, n. 3.

<sup>185</sup> *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, p. 166.

<sup>186</sup> She held other priesthoods also; cf. Waldhauer, *JRS*, 1923, p. 190, on a bust apparently showing her as priestess of Ceres (for whom see last subsection).

*coniunxque sacerdos*,<sup>187</sup> and Velleius *Livia . . . quam transgressi ad deos sacerdotem ac filiam (vidimus)*.<sup>188</sup> The evidence of Velleius is particularly significant here since, while not apparently a member of Livia's most intimate circle, he is just the man whom we should expect to reflect the official publicity of Tiberius.<sup>189</sup> This publicity directed much of its attention, not to the suppression of Livia's glory—far from it—but to her presentation as priestess, rather than as goddess or empress.

Certain implications of this rôle have been described in recent years. As the coinage of Pella (no. 38: Plate IV, 10; and especially no. 39) and its Roman prototype suggest,<sup>190</sup> the priestess may well be regarded in some sense as the representative (though not, since she is labelled IVLIA AVGVSTA, as the equivalent) of *Pietas*.<sup>191</sup> The composite character of this Augustan and Tiberian "Virtue" has been analysed by the present writer elsewhere.<sup>192</sup> In this connection we must not boggle at the conception—unfamiliar to us—revealed by Velleius' description of Livia not only as her deified husband's *sacerdos* but also as his *filia*. The former wife of the *divus* had been adopted in his will,<sup>193</sup> and she was now correctly described as his "daughter."<sup>194</sup> Another result of this measure was her assumption of the gentile name "Julia," and *cognomen* "Augusta," to which our coins bear witness. Her adoption of the former name may not have been particularly strange,<sup>195</sup> but the latter appellation rep-

<sup>187</sup> *Ex Ponto*, IV, 9, 107, cf. Weber, pp. 92 f.\*, n. 427.

<sup>188</sup> II, 75, 3.

<sup>189</sup> See Abraham, *Velleius und die Parteien in Rom unter Tiberius*, pp. 13 f., cf. Smith, p. 126, n. 39. As Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 188, puts it, "Velleius knew all the tricks."

<sup>190</sup> Cf. also *Caesaraugusta*, Vives, IV, p. 80, no. 37.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 141, no. 151 ("as priestess or as *Pietas*"); but he prefers the former alternative on pp. cxxxiii and 128. The PIETAS head is veiled like the head of the priestess; and the priestess—"daughter" was an obvious reminiscence of *Pietas*.

<sup>192</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>193</sup> For discussion see especially Kornemann, *DR*, p. 35, *GFA*, *SB München*, 1947, I, p. 5.

<sup>194</sup> This point has rarely been faced except by Gag , *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 26, n. 1, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 16, and von Premerstein, p. 269.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. Ehrenberg, p. 205.

resented a somewhat startling adaptation of the Augustan name or title. Kornemann<sup>196</sup> (probably, in this statement, at least, without the exaggeration which Ehrenberg attributes to him<sup>197</sup>) describes it as having been as surprising to the world in general as it was tiresome for Tiberius; though others have taken the view that, whatever its embarrassing effects, it had been intended by Augustus to help Tiberius<sup>198</sup> rather than to hinder him.<sup>199</sup>

The present study will not touch further on the psychological relations of the three great personages, which raise questions that are fascinating but may be insoluble. The coins are concerned rather with the *façade* with which imperial publicity presented, or covered up, those relations. This publicity made great play with the theme of Livia as priestess. But, as Weber has pointed out, this theme contained scarcely less novelty than the other manifestations of Livia's posthumous adoption to which reference has been made.<sup>200</sup> Usually only goddesses, not gods, had been tended by priestesses; gods had been looked after by male priests.<sup>201</sup> Livia's priesthood, then, could not fail, in this respect at least, to be almost unprecedented.<sup>202</sup>

But so, too, was the problem with which her survival, and her place in the testament of Augustus, faced the government of Tiberius. Many attempts have been made in modern times to define the special position of the *Augusta* in the state. This position of hers faced Tiberius with a problem which lacked a complete precedent and thus permitted of no orthodox solution. But those of our coins which are here interpreted as emphasising the "priestess" formula

<sup>196</sup> *DR*, pp. 35 f., 50, n. 3, 189, cf. *GFA*, pp. 199, 204. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 40.

<sup>197</sup> *P.* 205.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Ollendorff, *RE*, XIII, 1, 916, Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 17.

<sup>199</sup> Ehrenberg, p. 206, does not rule out the possibility that Augustus intended to damage Tiberius.

<sup>200</sup> *Pp.* 92\* f., n. 427.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 185, 218, n. 6, 299, n. 10.

<sup>202</sup> Possibly the *flaminica Dialis* was a partial exception and precedent: as Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 135, 143.

indicate the principles on which his attempted solution was founded; and these principles must now briefly be discussed. A student of Tiberius' rule would be surprised if he found his administration, even in so unusual a situation, acting without attention to some Roman precedent or part-precedent, drawn either from the Republic or from the policy of Augustus, or from both. He is not *prima facie* likely to have introduced Hellenistic innovations in such a matter, and indeed Hellenistic cults, to which certain scholars have attributed other features of Livia's position,<sup>203</sup> do not appreciably help us to understand her priesthood. It can be shown that this was not quite so "un-Roman" as Weber says,<sup>204</sup> and that, whatever features of novelty it contained, its presentation to the Roman public, through the coins, gave due consideration to Roman institutions.



Fig. i



Fig. ii



Fig. iii

The connection of the coins, and of the "priestess" formula in general, with Roman traditions seems to be provided by certain other seated figures of veiled women which had appeared on coinage of an earlier date. We may particularly compare the pose of a veiled seated figure (carrying a *cymbium*) on the *denarii* of C. Clodius Vestalis issued in the late forties B.C. (Figure iii).<sup>205</sup> An-

<sup>203</sup> E.g. Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 219, 221, 230.

<sup>204</sup> Pp. 92\* f., n. 427.

<sup>205</sup> *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 564, no. 4195; cf. *FITA*, pp. 49 f., n. 14 (and Errata); but the present writer no longer agrees with Groag, *RE*, IV, 104 f., in eliminating these pieces from the Roman Series of the late 40's. For Vestalis see Barbieri, *Rivista di Filologia*, 1947, pp. 166 f.

other veiled lady, standing, and holding—together with a *simpulum*—a sceptre as on our Tiberian *aes*, was depicted at about the same date by M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Livineius Regulus (Figure ii).<sup>206</sup> An earlier M. Lepidus had shown a veiled head of the same lady in pre-Caesarian days (Figure i).<sup>207</sup> Now the figures represented by these three types are none of them goddesses or “Virtues,” but all human beings. Moreover they all share another and more distinctive feature, namely that of being Vestal Virgins. It is the Vestal Aemilia who is represented by both of the Marci Lepidi, and C. Clodius Vestalis—whose *cognomen* is significant in this context—is depicting the Vestal Claudia Quinta. The seated figures on the *denarii* of the Lepidi and Regulus and Vestalis are by no means unlike the “Livia as priestess” type, and hold priestly emblems as she does. Moreover, a conscious reminiscence is suggested by Livia’s kinship, as a Claudian by birth as well as by marriage,<sup>208</sup> to one of these Vestals, Claudia Quinta—who is known to have been honoured by a Claudian emperor.<sup>209</sup>

Livia’s career provides a special *raison d’être* for such a connection. She was given *sacrosanctitas* early in her husband’s rule (B.C. 35),<sup>210</sup> during which she already appeared in a veil like that worn by the Vestal Virgins.<sup>211</sup> Long before the death of Augustus her position could be compared with that of the Vestals in a number of ways.<sup>212</sup> It was only as the formalisation and finalisation of a long process that in A.D. 24—perhaps in connection with the decennialian ceremonies<sup>213</sup>—she was given the right to sit in their midst.<sup>214</sup> In

<sup>206</sup> *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 580, no. 4259 (c. 39 B.C.); Bahrfeldt, *Die römische Goldmünzenprägung*, pp. 55, 58 f. (43–42 B.C.).

<sup>207</sup> *BMC. Rep.*, I, p. 450, no. 3650.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 229. Her father was a Claudius adopted in infancy by the tribune Livius Drusus—M. Livius Drusus Claudianus.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 499—Claudius.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. Adcock, *CAH*, IX, p. 901, Hohl, *Klio*, 1939, p. 70, *FITA*, p. 450.

<sup>211</sup> E.g. on the Uffizi Altar, Seltman, *CAH*, Plates IV, p. 136.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Weber, pp. 92\* f., n. 427; Hor., *Od.*, III, 14, 5 f.

<sup>213</sup> For these see *RAI*, Chapter III, section i.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. Weber, loc. cit., Rogers, p. 32, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 479.



such circumstances identification with the guardian deity of the Vestals was easy:<sup>216</sup> we find the combination *Vesta Augusta*,<sup>216</sup> and a description of Livia as Vesta by Ovid;<sup>217</sup> and on common *asses* of Caligula, a seated figure very similar to those on the Tiberian *aes*, and like them provided with a veil and long sceptre, is actually described as VESTA.<sup>218</sup>

Thus the widespread type of Livia as priestess was neither a pure invention nor an adaptation from the Hellenistic world: it was firmly based on the Roman Vestal tradition. This descent had obvious and impressive implications. The patroness of the type, Vesta, represents, in the words of Warde Fowler, "the reality and continuity of Roman religious feeling."<sup>219</sup> The Vestal Virgins, to whom Livia is compared, embodied the highest ideals of the Roman concept of womanhood.<sup>220</sup> The founders of the principate appreciated the significance of the Vestal tradition, and, as in the case of so many historic institutions, took careful steps to annex it for themselves. Of Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Livia's husband, Ovid inspires Vesta to say *Ne dubita meminisse: meus fuit ille sacerdos*.<sup>221</sup> Both Vesta and her Virgins were deliberately exalted by Augustus.<sup>222</sup> As so often, Tiberius did the same:<sup>223</sup> this range of ideas lost nothing of its impetus during the decades following the death of Augustus. While Augustus was alive, Livia's Vestal rôle had linked her closely with him in his capacity of *pontifex maximus*, and after his death, when she herself had obtained a great and special priesthood, a similar link united her with the new *pontifex maximus*, her son—now her "brother"—Tiberius: for the Vestal Virgins were tra-

<sup>216</sup> For such identifications of Livia with goddesses see last subsection.

<sup>216</sup> *CIL*, II, 1166, 3378, cf. Charlesworth, *JRS*, 1943, p. 7, n. 37.

<sup>217</sup> *Ex Ponto*, IV, 13, 29. Her house was associated with the cult of Vesta, Richmond, *JRS*, 1914, pp. 209, 211.

<sup>218</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 154, no. 45, p. cxlvi.

<sup>219</sup> *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 137.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion*, p. 88.

<sup>221</sup> *Fasti*, III, 699, cf. Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 151 (but cf. p. 173 and n. 3).

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 479.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Rogers, pp. 11 f. For the Vestal connection of the Tiberian *Aeternitas*, see above, Chapter II, section iv, subsection B.

ditionally the direct subordinates of the high priest.<sup>224</sup> Later in the century Vitellius, reproducing on his coinage a seated figure very like that of the Tiberian coinage, was to label it PONT · MAXIM ·,<sup>225</sup> thus stressing further the connection between Vesta and the high-priesthood.

The cult of Vesta was also closely associated with that of Divus Augustus, with whose portrait the seated priestess is so often associated.<sup>226</sup> Indeed, for centuries after the death of Augustus, the temple of Vesta was regularly accorded numismatic portrayal on the principal anniversaries of the death of Augustus—and on practically no other occasions but these anniversaries.<sup>227</sup> Livia, who sat among the Vestals and was priestess of Augustus, was the link and unifier of these two great branches of Roman religion, Vesta and Divus Augustus—thus maintaining the sacerdotal tradition of her family by adoption, the *Gens Iulia*. It is in these capacities that she appears on the numerous issues with the “seated priestess” type, which first dominated the official “accession” issues of Tiberius and then remained the most persistent and widespread feature of the local *aes* coinage of his principate.

A notable feature of this type is that it was considered as appropriate for the years after Livia’s death (A.D. 29) as for the years before it. In the first place, its appearance at Utica with the names of at least nine *duoviri* or *quinquennales*,<sup>228</sup> apparently between the years 27 and 30 inclusive,<sup>229</sup> suggests that a number of these coins should be attributed to 30, the year after her death. Secondly, for pressing reasons of portraiture and execution,<sup>230</sup> some of the Divus

<sup>224</sup> Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 426, Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, p. 54; cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. cxxxi, ccxxiv, Rogers, p. 32, Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 123.

<sup>225</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 373, no. 33.

<sup>226</sup> Charlesworth, *HTR*, 1936, p. 123, Sutherland, *NC*, 1941, p. 116 n. *Ibid.*, p. 114, for this significance of the star and thunderbolt on the obverse of the Divus Augustus Pater “seated priestess” coins, cf. our no. 14 of Achulla (Plate I, 21).

<sup>227</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VI, section ii (init.), etc.

<sup>228</sup> See Appendix 2; Plate VIII, 8 and 9.

<sup>229</sup> De Laet, p. 92, no. 410 and p. 246.

<sup>230</sup> The present writer hopes to publish elsewhere a note defending the validity of such criteria.

Augustus Pater *asses* with the same type<sup>231</sup> must be ascribed to the period following the death not only of Livia but of Tiberius as well—notably to the principate of Caligula or Claudius.<sup>232</sup> Her deification did not occur until the latter of these two reigns;<sup>233</sup> under Tiberius she was not deified,<sup>234</sup> and he took care, as usual, that her posthumous honours should not be exaggerated.<sup>235</sup> We might expect to find the official view in Velleius. Writing very soon after Livia's death, he describes her as *eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina*.<sup>236</sup> This is high praise, but it is not the description of a *diva*: it harmonises admirably, however, with the characteristics of the "seated priestess" type, which was, as we have seen, retained after her death.

Official *aes* coinage attributable to the same early years after Livia's death conveys a similar suggestion. The present writer<sup>237</sup> has elsewhere supported the view—which Sutherland describes as "now generally admitted"<sup>238</sup>—that certain coins of Tiberius were issued after the dates represented by the tribunician numbers that they bear. Among these is an official *sestertius* of Tiberius with a *carpentum* and the words S·P·Q·R· IVLIAE AVGVSTAE.<sup>239</sup> This seems to have been issued shortly after the death of Livia—that is to say at about the time when Velleius wrote. *Carpentum* types on other Roman coins of the first century A.D. are habitually posthumous,<sup>240</sup> and suggest that the same is true of this one. We may com-

<sup>231</sup> Sutherland, *NC*, 1941, pp. 103 f., n. 13, p. 102, n. 22, *ibid.*, Plate I, 10.

<sup>232</sup> *RAI*, Chapter IV, section i; *ibid.*, Plate II, 9, 10.

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Weber, p. 101\*, Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 498.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Rogers, *Hermes*, 1933, p. 122, Smith, p. 151, n. 75.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Rogers, p. 70.

<sup>236</sup> II, 80, 5, cf. Balsdon, p. 11, n. 3.

<sup>237</sup> *FITA*, pp. 447 f.

<sup>238</sup> *JRS*, 1947, pp. 211 f. He rightly points to a number of important historical questions raised by this conclusion. Cf. also above, p. 32, n. 123.

<sup>239</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 130, no. 76.

<sup>240</sup> E.g. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 159, no. 81 (Agrippina senior), p. 180, n. (Antonia), II, p. 270, no. 226, p. 271, no. 229 (Domitilla), pp. 402 f., 405 f., (Julia Titi). Against these instances, the only non-posthumous example is on a non-Roman and apparently medallic anniversary piece of Agrippina junior, *ibid.*, I, p. 195n., cf. *RAI*, Chapter IV, section ii.

pare also Italian urn-reliefs on which this type of vehicle is used by the dead on their journey from the world.<sup>241</sup> It is improbable, in view of the *moderatio* of Tiberius in such respects, that Livia was conceded the right of using a *carpentum* in her lifetime, a right which Messalina and Agrippina junior seem to have been the first to possess.<sup>242</sup> More likely parallels are those provided by a series of personages beginning with Agrippina senior, for whom, *after* her death, an identical coin-type was issued<sup>243</sup> when Caligula—in this respect conservative in his attitude to imperial women<sup>244</sup>—granted her the same honour of a *carpentum* posthumously.<sup>245</sup>

These *carpenta* were closely associated with the priesthood. Antonia's position during the last weeks of her life was modelled on that of Livia,<sup>246</sup> so that Claudius later entitles her SACERDOS DIVI AVGVSTI,<sup>247</sup> and one posthumous *denarius* in her name shows a *carpentum* with the sole inscription SACERDOS.<sup>248</sup> Tacitus describes the award of these vehicles as *honos sacerdotibus et sacris antiquitus concessus*.<sup>249</sup> (Furthermore, *carpenta* were more appropriate to priestesses than to priests, for they were especially associated with women.)<sup>250</sup> Thus the *carpentum* on the *sestertius* of

<sup>241</sup> E.g. from Volaterrae in Museo Archeologico, Florence, cf. Brunn-Körte, *Urne Etrusche*, III, p. 96, Plate LXXX, 4c.

<sup>242</sup> Dio 60.22, 33, Suet., *Claud.*, 17, Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 42, cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxv, nn. 2, 3, cliv, n. 2, clix; see also last note but one.

<sup>243</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 159, n. 81.

<sup>244</sup> Revolutionary aspects of his policy in this respect are stressed e.g. by Kornemann, *Die Stellung der Frau*, in *Die vorgriechische Mittelmeerkultur*, pp. 13 ff. See also Balsdon, pp. 41 ff., Grant, *NC*, 1949 (in press).

<sup>245</sup> Suet., *Cal.*, 15, cf. Abaecherli, *Bollettino dell Associazione Internazionale degli Studi Mediterranei*, VI, 1935/6, p. 5.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 655, Gagé, *RA*, XXXIV, 1931, p. 21, n. 3, Kornemann, *DR*, pp. 51 f.

<sup>247</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 180, no. 112, Weber, p. 92\*, n. 427.

<sup>248</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 180, n. (Vienna), cf. Kubitschek, *NZ*, 1921, p. 151, Plate VII, 5.

<sup>249</sup> *Ann.*, XII, 42.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v., e.g. Festus, p. 245 (Müller), Becker's *Gallus*, p. 346, etc. The first veto on women driving in the city was short-lived (the *lex Oppia*), but even this was *nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur* (Livy, XXXIV, 1). Caesar revived the veto in similar form, Adcock, *CAH*, IX, p. 699. Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cxxxv, n. 1.

Livia seems to confirm that, after her death as before it, Tiberius intended her position as priestess to be in the forefront of his publicity. This is perhaps borne out by the veil which she wears on an exceedingly rare official coin-portrait that appears to be posthumous.<sup>251</sup> These corroborate the suggestion conveyed by survivals of the seated priestess type after A.D. 29. Even if Tiberius felt a great deal freer after the death of his mother<sup>252</sup>—and his feelings, obscure enough at the time, cannot be reconstructed now—he apparently made no change in the picture of her presented by his publicity.<sup>253</sup> For this was the official rôle in which he preferred her to appear, live or dead—as *sacerdos Divi Augusti* and heiress to the Roman Vestal tradition.

### C. POSITION OF JULIA AUGUSTA IN THE STATE

Much has recently been written of the reluctance of Tiberius to overload Livia with honours, whether public or divine.<sup>254</sup> Our present material tends to confirm the view that, as far as Romans are concerned, the interpretation of her official position as “Hellenistic” cannot be substantiated: it had a truly Roman background. Indeed, even in dealing with Greeks, Tiberius was cautious about her divinity, as is suggested by the Gythium inscription;<sup>255</sup> but *peregrini*, even if such instructions had been less *suspensa et obscura*,<sup>256</sup> could scarcely be expected to achieve moderation. Roman colonies, too, were sometimes apt to regard her as a goddess. But more often they imitated Rome, where, in official circles, there was no doubt on this subject: the fact that her late husband had become *divus* did not make her *diva*. Even after her death, as Velleius so tactfully put it, although she was more like a goddess than a human being, she was

<sup>251</sup> *RAI*, Chapter III, section 3, and *ibid.*, Plate II, 1.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1929, p. 343.

<sup>253</sup> Possibly, however, he presented it less assiduously: cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634.

<sup>254</sup> Rogers, pp. 68 ff., etc.

<sup>255</sup> For references, see above, subsection A.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, I, 11.

still no more than *eminentissima femina*. Still less, then, could Romans at home have considered her divine in her lifetime, even if Roman colonies abroad had their moments of deviation from the Roman model.

As regards her lifetime, the repeated allusions to Livia by our coin-types illustrate the position which she held in the framework and government of the state. That position was formidable. But, as Ehrenberg<sup>257</sup> points out, there is no reason to follow Kornemann's<sup>258</sup> exaggeration of a cautious remark of Mommsen,<sup>259</sup> and call the Vestal-like *sacerdos Augusti* a "co-ruler" or anything like it: indeed, the Vestals with whom she was equated were the direct subordinates of the *pontifex maximus*.<sup>260</sup> But there were other limitations also. The basis of the rule of Augustus had been his *auctoritas*. When he died, his "priestess and daughter," however great and powerful a lady, and however potent her names "Julia Augusta," did not inherit as large a measure of his *auctoritas* as did his "son" and successor in the *statio principis*. For one thing the *auctoritas* of Augustus and then of Tiberius was largely exercised, in the administrative and executive field, through the senate<sup>261</sup> and *comitia*.<sup>262</sup> These were aspects in which Livia had no share at all; and it is not possible, at the date of which we are speaking, to describe as "co-ruler" any person, even if it were a man, whose *auctoritas* was not given an administrative voice in the senate by means of the tribunician power.<sup>263</sup> Much the same applies to Livia's lack of *imperium*. Whatever the exact rôle of that power in the administrative position of the *princeps*,<sup>264</sup> it gave him not only military glory but

<sup>257</sup> P. 205.

<sup>258</sup> *DR*, pp. 35 ff., *GFA*, pp. 199 ff., *SB München*, 1947, I, p. 5; cf. Rostovtzeff, *RH*, 1930, p. 24.

<sup>259</sup> *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, pp. 788 f., n. 4.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. last subsection, n. 224.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 447, 452, n. 4, and *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 110.

<sup>263</sup> For the tribunician power as the real basis of "co-rule," cf. Ehrenberg, p. 202 (against Mommsen, *St. R.*, II<sup>3</sup>, pp. 1152 f.); Grant, *Greece and Rome*, 1949, pp. 111 f.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

also military strength. Livia's deficiency in these, as in the *tribunicia potestas*, prevented her from being co-ruler.<sup>265</sup> Owing to the inevitability of these deficiencies, Augustus cannot, for all the remarkable stipulations of his will, have intended her to become co-ruler after his death.<sup>266</sup> A *fortiori*, since she was not co-ruler, she was not "matriarch,"<sup>267</sup> in relation either to her son<sup>268</sup> or (for all the unauthorised<sup>269</sup> MATER PATRIAE of Lepcis Magna<sup>270</sup> [Plate VIII, 6]) to the State.

Nevertheless, while we should be wrong in postulating un-Roman or divine or imperial honours for Livia at Rome, it would be equally wrong to suppose that Tiberius endeavoured to keep her out of sight. The enormous emphasis on her figure as a coin-type tells an entirely different story. Even if Tiberius was inclined to shirk problems, this was one which he did not shirk. Indeed, he proclaimed to the Roman world his official interpretation of her position. Yet this picture of the Augusta, as priestess and Vestal devotee rather than worldly ruler, perhaps seemed a little austere to the more ambitious of her admirers, if not to Livia herself; and, as regards numismatic honours, it even fell short of one or two manifestations of Augustus' lifetime.<sup>271</sup> The literary tradition records a number of embarrassing attempts by Tiberius to prevent Livia

<sup>265</sup> Cf. F. Sandels, *Die Stellung der kaiserlichen Frauen aus dem julisch-claudischen Hause*, Diss: Giessen, 1912, pp. 22 f., 75 ff., Ehrenberg, p. 206.

<sup>266</sup> As Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 204.

<sup>267</sup> As Piganiol, *Mélanges Cagnat*, p. 153.

<sup>268</sup> For references to *mater Augusti*, see Smith, p. 22, n., p. 43. He sometimes allowed her name to precede his on monuments, e.g. *Fasti Praen.*, cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634.

<sup>269</sup> Tiberius refused her the title, Tac., *Ann.*, I, 14, Dio, 57, 12, cf. von Premerstein, pp. 174 f., Rogers, pp. 60, 68; just as he himself refused the title of *pater patriae*, see Chapter II, section i.

<sup>270</sup> Müller, I, p. 623, Grose, III, p. 458, no. 10003, cf. Willrich, p. 57, Kornemann, *DR*, p. 37, n. 2. For the cult of the *domus Augusta* at Lepcis Magna, see Aurigemma, *Annali dell'Africa Italiana*, 1941, pp. 585 ff.

<sup>271</sup> E.g. at Alexandria (Kornemann, *DR*, p. 38, n. 1, Sutherland, *JRS*, 1934, p. 36; but there is no question of "right of coinage," as Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634), and in Bithynia, where the busts of Augustus and Livia appear jugate on an official coinage (M. Granius Marcellus, *FITA*, Plate IV, 33, cf. pp. 145 f.).

from straying outside the borders of this picture.<sup>272</sup> These attempts were over-simplified or perverted into imaginary attempts by Tiberius—*moderandos feminarum honores dictitans*<sup>273</sup>—to keep Livia “out of the news.” But the coinage confirms that she was very much in the official news: she had a vast share of the imperial publicity. Indeed, in another passage of Tacitus we read of the emperor’s *in-veteratum erga matrem obsequium*.<sup>274</sup> Both these ungenerous epigrams strike home, and the fact that they are contradictory only underlines the delicate nature of the problem which Tiberius was trying to face.

The place assigned to Livia in the framework of the principate was an exalted one. But it was also, in its chief aspect, restricted to a quasi-Vestal rôle. The retirement of Tiberius to Capri, with its effects on the quality of his administration<sup>275</sup> and particularly on the system of *auctoritas principis*,<sup>276</sup> may well have been due, in part at least, to difficult relations with Livia, which the official interpretation of her did nothing to mitigate. It cannot have been easy for that very real personality<sup>277</sup> to fit into the coldly elevated niche in the imperial façade which Tiberius had designed for her. Tiberius tried to base his policy and publicity on the practice of Augustus, and particularly on that of the last *decennium* of the latter’s principate. But just as he was to some extent defeated in that aim by the posthumous greatness of his own model, so too he was defeated—though this again was never admitted—by the personality of Livia and, more particularly, by the position left to her by Au-

<sup>272</sup> Cf. Rogers, pp. 69 f., Ciaceri, *Tacito*, p. 158. An instance particularly annoying to Tiberius (if true) must have been her initiative in directing the fire-brigade to put out a fire—next to the temple of Vesta (Suet., *Tib.*, 50)! Her supporters could, however, argue that even Vestal Virgins had at times performed public services outside the cloister, e.g. Aemilia and her kinswoman Claudia Quinta (see above, subsection B).

<sup>273</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, I, 14, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 40.

<sup>274</sup> *Ann.*, V, 3, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 59.

<sup>275</sup> Cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935/6, p. 211, n. 5, Smith, p. 163, Hammond, p. 169. But these effects must not be overestimated, Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 197.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. below, Conclusion.

<sup>277</sup> For her character see Kornemann, *GFA*, pp. 172 ff. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 634, describes the aspersions of Tacitus as a “farrago of nonsense.”



gustus in his will. The present discussion has suggested the means employed by Tiberius to rescue this situation, by the application of his own standards—namely those of Roman traditionalism, which had likewise been the standards of the stepfather who had left him this uncomfortable heritage. Even at this distance of time, these methods appear as only partially successful; for behind the façade of *mos maiorum* they reveal what Tiberius most wished to avoid but in these peculiar circumstances could not conceal—namely an element of novelty.

## CONCLUSION

THE rule of Tiberius possesses many features which warrant its description as an aftermath of the principate of Augustus rather than a prelude to the principates which follow. Thus, in our present study, we have found in a number of fields that changes often attributed to Tiberius prove, on examination, to be features of the preceding principate (often of its final period), which Tiberius maintained as he found them.<sup>1</sup> The whole subjects of his colonial coinages<sup>2</sup> and attitude to Roman cities<sup>3</sup> seem to fall into this category; indeed, in respect of his own titulature (in which he was eager to avoid comparisons),<sup>4</sup> and in the honouring of his heirs,<sup>5</sup> he was more conservative than Augustus and may even perhaps be said to have introduced a Republican reaction.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, in many respects the contrast with the future is no less clear than the link with the past; and Tiberius has been regarded not only as the second, but also as the last, of the true *principes*.<sup>7</sup> For immediately after him came the first of the imperial tyrants, Caligula, in whose brief reign—though the force of continuity and tradition must not be minimised<sup>8</sup>—the Augustan system received a severe, and at some points a fatal, shock; as was fitting under the first of three emperors descended from M. Antonius.<sup>9</sup> In particular Caligula had little patience for the tactful exercise of government

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, II, 65: *nihil aeque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne composita turbarentur*; and Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 38, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter I, section ii, and Appendices 4, 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter II, section ii, and Appendices 2, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, section i.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter III, section ii.

<sup>6</sup> For references see Chapter II, section i.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *GR*, p. 159, *RG*, II, p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> It is illustrated by his coinage, cf. Mattingly, *CAH*, XII, p. 716; e.g. his conservative titulature, and coinage for Agrippina senior, see above, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C.

<sup>9</sup> Syme, *RR*, p. 495; cf. Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 221.

by *auctoritas*.<sup>10</sup> This régime died with Tiberius.<sup>11</sup> His was the last principate in which other *auctoritates* survived alongside the *auctoritas principis*,<sup>12</sup> and other *principes viri* alongside the *princeps*,<sup>13</sup> in which, indeed, the latter liked to seem *ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps*.<sup>14</sup> The significance of the year of his death, A.D. 37, may have been partly clear to those who came after him; at any rate, until the period of detraction set in,<sup>15</sup> and his critics began to be read in earnest soon after the fall of his admirer Domitian,<sup>16</sup> his memory received from posterity the marked respect<sup>17</sup> which it deserved, and which is said to have been his highest ambition.<sup>18</sup> Thus the *tricennium* of his death was commemorated by Nero on an official Alexandrian issue,<sup>19</sup> and possibly, too, its half-centenary by a Roman as of Domitian.<sup>20</sup> The death of Tiberius represented the end

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 209. Levi, *La Politica Imperiale di Roma*, p. 269, argues that Caligula tried to restore "the *auctoritas principis* that had been cheapened by Tiberius"; but he is using the word in the general sense of "authority," and his meaning is that Caligula wanted to avoid the "Republican menace" which, according to Levi, Tiberius had allowed to develop.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, p. 204, *GR*, p. 159. "Restorations of the Republic" by emperors on whom powers were conferred by a "*lex de imperio*," like Vespasian, did not set the clock back to the days of Tiberius.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Muller, *MKA*, 63, XI, 1927, pp. 29 ff., Wagenvoort, *QAS*, X, 1938, p. 14. He even considered himself in *auctoritate senatus*, cf. Heinze, *Vom Geist des Römerstums*, Wells, *JRS*, 1939, p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gwosdz, *Der Begriff des römischen Princeps*, Diss: Breslau, 1933, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Vell., II, 129, 2, cf. Kornemann, *Staaten Völker Männer*, p. 95, n. 45, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, V, 1929, pp. 342 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 652.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Charlesworth, *CAH*, XI, p. 23, Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, pp. 11 ff., p. 20, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Tiberian allusions on the coinage of the first century are commented on in *RAI*, Chapters IV-VI (Chapter III, section iii, for the attitude of Caligula). Cf. also Dio, 60, 10, *ILS*, 212; posthumous statues and busts, *Africa Italiana*, 1940-1941, pp. 76 f., 91, Abb. 76, 77, Schweitzer, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1942, p. 105, Merlin, *RA*, 1941, p. 330, no. 105, cf. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeologica*, 1946, p. 9 and n. 32, p. 47, 105—sometimes in temples, *BMC, Ionia*, p. 288, no. 403 (Caracalla); cf. his cult in Lycia, Fougères, *De Lyciorum Communi*, p. 105; and the names of months, Beurlier, *Essai sur le Culte Rendu aux Empereurs Romains*, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 46: *quippe illi non perinde curae gratia praesentium quam in posteris ambitio*, cf. Pippidi, *ED*, 1938 = *AT*, p. 39, n. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Milne, *Catalogue of the Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, pp. xxv, xxxv, 7, as interpreted by *RAI*, Chapter IV, section ii.

<sup>20</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, II, p. 387, no. 698, cf. p. xciv, as interpreted by *RAI*, Chapter V, section ii.

of an epoch, and it was fitting that a great landmark of the Augustan *aureum saeculum*, namely its half-centenary, was still receiving numismatic commemoration when he died.<sup>21</sup>

Yet, for all these deliberate and far-reaching links with Augustus as with the Republic which had preceded him, it is the feature of the principate of Tiberius that, in another and no less potent sense, it prepared the way for a future which he would have found most distasteful. The very fact of his accession pointed ahead rather than backwards: for it was the first occasion on which a man had succeeded to the *statio principis*, and this was so decisive an event that it has been described by Syme as "marking the legal termination of the Republic."<sup>22</sup> Thus, if in one sense A.D. 37 marked the end of an era, it is equally true to say that, despite the wishes of the new *princeps*, A.D. 14 marked the beginning of one.<sup>23</sup> It is not, therefore, fortuitous or surprising that this great year was one of the dates of which the anniversaries were celebrated longest and most attentively in ancient times.<sup>24</sup> To judge by the coinage, other such dates were B.C. 43, 31-30, 27, 23, 17-16 and 12.<sup>25</sup> Each of these years was commemorated as having in some degree witnessed the inauguration of the principate; but the same is true in a very special sense of A.D. 14.<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, this year was remarkable for more than the accession of Tiberius. For in it also, from causes beyond his control, there came

<sup>21</sup> The types (*BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 134 ff.) continued unchanged for the remaining three years of Tiberius' lifetime which followed the anniversary year, and one type even seems to have been retained for a short time after his death (*RAI*, Chapter III, section ii), which was also overlapped by the celebrations of the centenary of Augustus' birth (*RAI*, Chapter III, section iii).

<sup>22</sup> *RR*, p. 374, cf. Hohl, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1936, p. 137.

<sup>23</sup> Kornemann, *GFA*, p. 221, stresses the division between the Augustan régime and the government by Claudians (and soon "Antonians") that followed. Tiberius, like Livia, was Claudian on both sides, cf. Syme, *RR*, p. 493.

<sup>24</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VIII, section i (summary).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* The Eastern provinces added 20 B.C., and the Western provinces 14-13 B.C. (in addition to the annexation dates of individual provinces, such as 25 B.C. for Galatia).

<sup>26</sup> Kornemann, *DR*, p. 41, also draws special attention to A.D. 19 as a decisive date—the year in which a *princeps* first raised his own son to the heirship of the empire, cf. above, Chapter III, section ii.

into being two other great features of subsequent Roman history. For the first time a *princeps*, in the new sense, was deified;<sup>27</sup> and for the first time, by his testament, a woman was raised high above other women.<sup>28</sup> Thus, a dead man still dominated the State; while his widow and priestess hampered it and, despite the official concentration on her religious aspect, set the precedent for a monstrous regiment of women. DEO AVGVSTO and GENETRIX ORBIS, on the coinage of Spanish colonies,<sup>29</sup> show respectively the repercussions, ominous for the future, of the embarrassing greatness of Tiberius' predecessor and his no less embarrassing will. By these factors, at the very outset of the reign and through no fault of his own, two serious limitations were set to the *auctoritas* of the new *princeps*. Moreover, he himself, for all his outstanding experience and ability,<sup>30</sup> was ill-equipped by nature to govern by *auctoritas* as had Augustus before him. For that system depended greatly on personal relations, and it was in the personal touch<sup>31</sup>—and so in judgment of men<sup>32</sup>—that Tiberius was lacking. Indeed, his retirement to Capri, ascribed by Suetonius to a desire to cherish his *auctoritas*,<sup>33</sup> made its tactful exercise impossible.<sup>34</sup> So Tiberius himself, cramped by his character as well as by his inheritance,

<sup>27</sup> Chapter III, section iii.

<sup>28</sup> Chapter III, section iv, especially subsection C.

<sup>29</sup> Chapter II, section v; Plate VI, 8, and VII, 6.

<sup>30</sup> This is the view of Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 196, 200; but, since comparisons between great men are a barren pursuit, no comment is offered here on his assertion of Tiberius' superiority over Augustus. By way of contrast, Charlesworth (*CAH*, X, p. 652), though appreciative of many of Tiberius' qualities, does not agree with Kornemann (*op. cit.*, p. 204, *GR*, p. 158; but see also *GFA*, p. 236) that he was a better *princeps* than Claudius. Opinions of every kind have been expressed about the merits and demerits of Tiberius; one of the least favourable modern estimates is that of Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, 2, 1940, p. 82.

<sup>31</sup> Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 652: "he lacked the graciousness in dealing with men and the tact that Augustus had possessed in so supreme a degree"; cf., on the *diritas* of Tiberius, Scott, *AJP*, 1932, pp. 150 ff., Pippidi, *RCI*, 1941/2 = *AT*, p. 173, Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 188 f.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Kornemann, *RG*, II, pp. 193 ff., 196 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, 10, cf. Thiel, *Mnemosyne*, 1935, p. 211, n. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 471, Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 84. For the effect of this on the administration, and a possible cause, see above, Chapter III, section iv, subsection C.

contributed to the failure of the system which it was his greatest desire to maintain.

The alternative to government by advice was the formal autocracy which was so soon to come into existence. Of this Tiberius was scrupulous to avoid any of the symbolism. But none the less, from the periphery of the empire, many signs of the future were apparent. The greatest of all the achievements of Tiberius, the stabilisation of the imperial Peace, brought on to a colonial mintage a *Pax Aug. Perpetua* which has in it—like GENETRIX ORBIS and DEO AVGVSTO—little of the past and much of the future; it is strangely suggestive of the contemporary Mission of Christ.<sup>35</sup> To the future too point the Tiberian coin-legends of other colonies, like PIETAS AVGVSTA, AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI;<sup>36</sup> and GENT· IVLI· at Corinth reminds us that the *Gens Iulia*, a modest enough conception in itself, advanced in this principate towards the status of an imperial family already unofficially called the *divina domus*.<sup>37</sup> The conservatism of Tiberius kept such phrases away from public parlance, but for a time only; they were advancing apace outside Rome. It is to his involuntary coincidence with such pregnant developments, no less than to his conscious and constructive stabilisation of the *Pax Augusta*, that his principate owes its place—which has begun to be attributed to it in recent years—as a decisive stage in the history of the Roman Empire.

<sup>35</sup> Chapter II, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>36</sup> Chapter II, section v; Plate VII, 2, 4, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Chapter III, section i; Plate V, 4, 7.

## APPENDIX 1

### Some non-Spanish colonial coins of uncertain *princeps*

IN this Appendix will be collected certain colonial coins which might belong to the principate of Tiberius but are on the whole more probably attributable to other periods.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Nemausus. Many of the *aes* pieces with heads of Augustus and Agrippa, and reverses with COL· NEM· and crocodile, are apparently post-Augustan.<sup>2</sup> One such group, described on iconographical grounds as belonging to "Tiberius or probably later,"<sup>3</sup> seems likely to be Claudian. In any case it is doubtful whether the issues of Nemausus are official or colonial,<sup>4</sup> and also whether the Augustan colony at Nemausus was a Roman or a Latin one<sup>5</sup>—probably it was the former (14 B.C.).

(2) Paestum. Muensterberg ascribes to Tiberius the coinage of the Paestan *duoviri* L. Suei. & M. Nun., and M. I. Ne.;<sup>6</sup> but attribution to Augustus seems preferable.<sup>7</sup>

(3) Uncertain Spanish city. Nicodemi<sup>8</sup> attributes to Tiberius a coin signed by C. Aquinus Mela and P. Baebius Pollio *duoviri quinquennales*, but the present writer ascribes it to Augustus. However, the attribution

<sup>1</sup> A list of the pieces attributed to Tiberius is given in Chapter I, section I.

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, pp. 75 ff.; accepted by le Gentilhomme, *RN*, 1947, p. vii, and viewed with cautious favour by Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 132, Sutherland, *CR*, 1947, p. 115; cf. de Laet, *AC*, 1946, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *FITA*, p. 75, n. 11. One of these pieces is illustrated by Willers, *NZ*, 1902, Plate VII, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *FITA*, pp. 70 ff., describes them as purely official, whereas Mattingly, *NC*, 1946, p. 131, doubts if this can be formally true, while admitting their *de facto* official scope. The present writer is now disposed to regard the first issue of c. 28 B.C. as local, the main Augustan and Neronian issues as official (P. P. on the latter is interpreted as *Pecunia Publica* in *FITA*, p. 78, n. 11, but this is doubted by Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 132); and at least some of the scarcer intervening pieces of Claudius and particularly Caligula, perhaps also the last emissions of A.D. c. 68-69, as medalllic or semi-medalllic. See also the present writer in *NC*, 1948, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *FITA*, p. 72, n. 18, gives some references. For comprehensive material concerning imperial Nemausus, *Forma Orbis Romani*, VIII (1941), cf. Grenier, *RH*, 1944, p. 155 f.

<sup>6</sup> *NZ*, 1911, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *P*, 74, no. 726.

to Pella must be abandoned owing to Spanish provenance: but A. Beltrán's reversion to Carthago Nova is still not convincing.<sup>9</sup>

(4) Buthrotum. Sestini's<sup>10</sup> attribution to this principate is uncertain. Imhoof-Blumer's<sup>11</sup> and Muensterberg's<sup>12</sup> ascription to Buthrotum concerns a genuinely Tiberian coin, but it is here assigned rather to Cnosus(?) (no. 49; Plate V, 10 and 11).

(5) Patrae. A frequently published coin or medallion at Patrae with a veiled head of Livia(?) and *biga*, with the legend INDVLGENTIAE AVG· MONETA IMPETRATA,<sup>13</sup> is probably not Tiberian.<sup>14</sup> It is certainly not of Augustus,<sup>15</sup> but its reverse type seems to be taken from *dupondii* of Germanicus issued in the principate of Caligula.<sup>16</sup>

(6) Corinth. Edwards<sup>17</sup> rightly attributes to Caligula the *duoviri* A. Vatronius Labeo and L. Rutilius Plancus, ascribed earlier to Tiberius<sup>18</sup> or Augustus.<sup>19</sup> She also abandons the attribution to Tiberius of the Augustans Insteius and L. Cassius.<sup>20</sup> But certain other coins of Corinth lacking imperial heads<sup>21</sup> may conceivably belong to the principate of Tiberius. So also might a small piece with GER· and DRV·, and two heads,<sup>22</sup> though it may also be post-Tiberian and might in any case be official rather than colonial.

(7) Parium. Mionnet quotes as bearing the ethnic of *colonia* Parium (C·G·I·P·) two small pieces with the usual type of priest or colonist ploughing; one has the head and name of Drusus junior,<sup>23</sup> and the other those of Tiberius and Drusus junior<sup>24</sup> (Plate VIII, 10). But it is doubtful

<sup>9</sup> *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena* (1949), p. 27, *FITA*, p. 283.

<sup>10</sup> *Descrizione d'alcune Med. Greche del Mus. Hedervariano, Europa*, II, p. 24, no. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *MG*, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> *NZ*, 1911, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> Paris, Naples, Vienna (Pink describes the last as tooled but apparently genuine).

<sup>14</sup> As *FITA*, p. 295, n. 9, following Gaebler, p. 61, n.

<sup>15</sup> As Gabrici, *Corolla Numismatica*, 1911, p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 160, nos. 94 ff. Cf. Grant, *NC*, 1948, p. 116.

<sup>17</sup> *Corinth*, VI, p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> By Earle Fox, *JIAN*, II, 1899, p. 96; Nicodemi, p. 74.

<sup>19</sup> *BMC, Corinth*, etc.

<sup>20</sup> *Corinth*, VI, p. 6, no. 3, cf. *FITA*, p. 266.

<sup>21</sup> Edwards, op. cit., pp. 7, 24 ff.; *BMC*, 680 f., etc.

<sup>22</sup> Edwards, op. cit., p. 74, no. 471.

<sup>23</sup> Mionnet, *Supplément*, V, p. 397, no. 719.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413, no. 818.



whether Mionnet was right in saying that the ethnic occurs on these coins.<sup>25</sup> They appear to be of an anniversary character.<sup>26</sup>

(8) Berytus. The present writer has yet to see a Berytan issue which does not seem more probably attributable either to a later date (e.g. Plate VIII, 5)<sup>27</sup> or to an earlier one.<sup>28</sup> But the stylistic peculiarities of this series make it impossible to conclude with certainty at what period any of these pieces were struck. Tiberian pieces may well exist.

(9) Cnossus. As Muensterberg<sup>29</sup> suggests, some of the coins of Cnossus ascribed to the principate of Augustus by the present writer<sup>30</sup> may conceivably have been issued under Tiberius, to whom some of them are ascribed in the British Museum Cabinet. This applies particularly to a diverse but obscure group bearing the following names:

(i) M. Aemilius (Plate VIII, 4, only partially legible) described on one occasion as *praefectus Imperatoris Iivir*;<sup>31</sup> elsewhere he lacks a title (Plate VIII, 2).

(ii) Labeo, who now seems not to be identical with M. Aemilius as was thought;<sup>32</sup> he figures as *Iivir*,<sup>33</sup> possibly as [*Iivir?*]*iter*. (Plate VIII, 3)<sup>34</sup> and apparently as *Iivir quinquennalis iter*. (Plate VIII, 1).<sup>35</sup>

(iii) Pollio, who appears with Labeo as [*Iivir?*]*iter*. and *Iivir quinquennalis iter*. (Plate VIII, 1).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>25</sup> As *FITA*, p. 112, nn. 19, 20. The Oxford and Paris specimens of the former piece, and *BMC*, 92, of the latter, show no sign of the ethnic; though the first-named of these, illustrated here (Plate VIII, 10), is struck off the flan to such an extent that this would not in any case be visible. The Berlin specimens are now inaccessible.

<sup>26</sup> See below, Appendix 6.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Rouvier, *JIAN*, 1900, p. 279, nos. 497 f., and probably *ibid.*, no. 281, no. 503. No. 497 recalls portraits on issues of peregrine cities ascribed to Claudius (e.g. *FITA*, Plate X, 20 ff., 31 ff., etc.). The head of 498, an uncouth coin of which variants exist at Vienna and Munich, somewhat recalls the features of Tiberius, but the execution of the reverse strongly suggests a considerably later (Flavian?) date.

<sup>28</sup> Rouvier, *JIAN*, 1900, p. 281, nos. 504 f., cf. *FITA*, p. 260.

<sup>29</sup> *NZ*, 1911, p. 125.

<sup>30</sup> *FITA*, p. 262: the description there is augmented, and to some extent superseded, by new material quoted here.

<sup>31</sup> Mr. A. M. Woodward has kindly informed the writer of a specimen in his collection reading apparently M. AEMIL. PRAE. IMP. IIVIR.

<sup>32</sup> A newly acquired British Museum example reads . . . MILI. PRAE. LAB. . . .

<sup>33</sup> *BMC*, *Corinth*, etc., p. 62, no. (attributed to Corinth) 513.

<sup>34</sup> Svoronos, I, p. 92, no. 201: POLLION. ITER. LABEON.

<sup>35</sup> Svoronos, I, p. 92, no. 199; *id.*, *RN*, 1888, p. 355 and Plate XVII, 4; Grose, II, p. 490, no. 7073: LABEONE POLLIONE IIVIR. Q. ITER.

<sup>36</sup> See last two notes.

(iv) Ti. Caesar, who figures as *Iivir* (Plate VIII, 2)<sup>37</sup> and *Iivir iter*.<sup>38</sup>

The present writer has preferred to consider the series Augustan and to identify Ti. Caesar here as Tiberius (in the reign of Augustus);<sup>39</sup> it is, however, possible that this *duovir* is instead Ti. Gemellus (in the reign of Tiberius), as at Paestum.<sup>40</sup> What is needed, as so often, is a carefully described Corpus of this coinage.

(10) Antioch in Pisidia. Hill attributes to "the time of Augustus and Tiberius" a small piece with the ethnic C·C·AN·;<sup>41</sup> but Ramsay ascribes the introduction of the name "Antiochia" to Vespasian or thereabouts.<sup>42</sup> Hill<sup>43</sup> and Babelon<sup>44</sup> rightly reject a piece with CAE·ANTIO·COL·S·R·, on which the third century obverse has been tooled to show legend and portrait of Tiberius.

(11) Perhaps Cassandrea (no. 32) should also have been included in this list rather than in the text (Plate IV, 4).

<sup>37</sup> Paris, Vienna: *FITA*, p. 262, no. 9.

<sup>38</sup> British Museum (the piece which seems to distinguish Labeo from M. Aemilius): TI. CAISAR IIVIR. ITER.

<sup>39</sup> *FITA*, p. 263.

<sup>40</sup> See above, Chapter III, section ii.

<sup>41</sup> *NC*, 1914, p. 303, no. 10.

<sup>42</sup> *SBRP*, p. 150, cf. Hill, op. cit., p. 304, n. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>44</sup> *Inventaire de la Collection Waddington*, 3580.

## APPENDIX 2

### The *municipia civium Romanorum*

THE *municipia*<sup>1</sup> do not form part of the subject of this study, but they are closely linked with it; so that an examination of the colonies would be incomplete without some reference to the municipal coinages, and to the relative status of the two kinds of community.

As regards the former of these two questions, there are only two non-Spanish *municipia* of which Tiberian coins have been identified.<sup>2</sup> One of these two cities is Utica (Plate VIII, 8, 9),<sup>3</sup> which was still of this status and not an Augustan colony as Scramuzza calls it:<sup>4</sup> some of its issues under Tiberius have, alternating with D·D·P·P·, the ethnic M(*unicipes*<sup>2</sup>) M(*unicipi*<sup>2</sup>) I(*uliae*) V(*ticae*).<sup>5</sup> Though not a very common series, the coins of this city show several remarkable features, some of which have been referred to cursorily in the text.<sup>6</sup> Most of them show the "Livia as priestess" type, and mention, in the Dative or Ablative, the name of the proconsul C. Vibius Marsus (A.D. c. 27-30).<sup>7</sup> The names of seven *duoviri* appear singly,<sup>8</sup> two of them being called AVG· or A·,<sup>9</sup> signifying *Augustalis*<sup>10</sup> or [*duovir*] *Augusti*.<sup>11</sup> Two further varieties are in-

<sup>1</sup> For the present purpose this term is restricted to *municipia civium Romanorum*, i.e. does not include the Latin cities which were sometimes likewise described as *municipia*, cf. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, p. 293, n. 23, Steinwenter, *RE*, X, 1269, *FITA*, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest coins of *municipium Stobi* (*Numismaticar*, II, 1935, p. 33, cf. Kubitschek, *Gnomon*, 1937, p. 25, n. 1) seem to be later.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, II, pp. 159 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *EC*, p. 277, n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> As restored by Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, IV, pp. 247 ff., cf. Müller, II, p. 164. Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, *Décade X*, *Oss.* IV, prefers some such formula as *municipium munitum* (for *munitum* cf. *FITA*, p. 285).

<sup>6</sup> E.g. for local signatories and formulas, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C; for Utica as mint, *ibid.*, subsection D; for the proconsul, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A; for Livia as priestess, Chapter III, section iv, subsection B.

<sup>7</sup> De Laet, p. 92, no. 410, p. 246.

<sup>8</sup> L. Caecilius Pius, Q. Caecilius Jovinus, Sex. Tadius Faustus, C. Sallustius Justus, M. Tullius Judex, C. Caelius Pax, C. Cassius Felix.

<sup>9</sup> C. Caelius Pax Aug., C. Cassius Felix A.

<sup>10</sup> As Müller, II, p. 166, cf. the interpretation by Florez, *Medallas de las colonias, municipios y pueblos antiguos de España*, p. 652 (rejected by *FITA*, p. 237, n. 7) of *quinq. Aug.* under Augustus (of which the tentative attribution to *Thermae Himeracae*

scribed with the names of Ner. Caes. q(*uinquennalis*) pr(*aefectus*?) A·N· Gemellus, Dr. Caes. q(*uinquennalis*) pr(*aefectus*?) T·D· Rufus.<sup>12</sup>

The second city of this category coining outside Spain after the death of Augustus is Tingis; possibly it was linked with Baetica administratively.<sup>13</sup> Carcopino wrongly describes it as a colony.<sup>14</sup> Its coins show on either side the heads of Nero and Drusus, the sons of Germanicus, inscribed NERO IVL· TIN· and DRVSVS respectively.<sup>15</sup> But it cannot be regarded as certain that this piece was not issued in the principate of Caligula,<sup>16</sup> under whom honours to these princes were revived.

At first sight this paucity of municipal coinages seems to present a contrast to the reign of Augustus, in which about eight non-Spanish *municipia* coined;<sup>17</sup> but the contrast diminishes when we limit the comparison to the last decade or two of the latter's lifetime.<sup>18</sup> For in this more limited period not more than three such cities coined,<sup>19</sup> and two of those apparently for foundations—that is to say, special occasions which could not be expected to recur under Tiberius. The apparent reduction in the latter's reign becomes even more negligible when it is recalled that Utica's extensive coinage seems to have had no precedent under Augustus,<sup>20</sup> and that, in Spain, eight *municipia* appear to have issued coinage under Tiberius<sup>21</sup> and only five in the last years of Augustus.<sup>22</sup> It cannot, therefore, be concluded that any diminution of municipal mints started at the ac-

is rightly refuted by A. Beltrán, *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena*, p. 29, on grounds of provenance; but his reversion to Carthago Nova is not satisfactory). One specimen is now seen to read *Augur*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the interpretation by Cuntz, *Klio*, 1906, p. 471 (cf. *FITA*, pp. 195 f.) of *IIvir Aug. des.* at *municipium* Halaesa under Augustus; cf. *IIIvir.Au.* at Thuburnica(?), *FITA*, p. 185.

<sup>13</sup> I.e. *quinquennalis* Genitive; or *quaestor propraetore*, as Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, IV, pp. 247 ff., cf. Müller, II, p. 165.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *BAF*, 1934, pp. 165 f.

<sup>16</sup> New York; Abaecherli Boyce, *NNM*, 109, 1947, pp. 21 ff. and Plate III, 8, 9.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *NC*, 1948, p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> *FITA*, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>19</sup> As is done also in Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, and in Appendices 4 and 5.

<sup>20</sup> Uselis, Agrigentum, Haluntium (?): *FITA*, pp. 153, 196 f., 199 (see also Appendix 5).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 182, n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Bilbilis, Calagurris, Dertosa, Emporiae, Osca, Saguntum, Turiaso, Italica.

<sup>23</sup> Bilbilis, Calagurris, Emporiae, Osca, Turiaso.

cession of Tiberius, any more than a diminution of colonial mints;<sup>23</sup> nor is any diminution noticeable *during* his reign, in which a number of municipal issues are late.<sup>24</sup>

From this point of view, then, no light is thrown on the problem of the relative status of *municipia* and colonies. The distinction between these two classes of community had been sufficient under Augustus for the *municipia* to preserve greater outward signs of independence which were sometimes reflected on the coinage; though this did not apply to all coinages. In any case the distinction had already come to be of little practical significance.<sup>25</sup> Under Tiberius the numismatic signs of autonomy on the one hand and dependence on the other retain roughly similar proportions, and there are no signs of an increased tempo in the assimilation of the two classes of community.<sup>26</sup> For Utica, in portraying Tiberius as *princeps*, is doing as other *municipia* had done under Augustus;<sup>27</sup> Tingis represents the *domus Augusta* as Gades had before it.<sup>28</sup> Again, *municipia* Osca, Saguntum and Turiaso begin under Tiberius to describe their fourth magistrates as aediles,<sup>29</sup> like colonies; but even under Augustus other *municipia* had done the same.<sup>30</sup> *Municipium* Dertosa seems to follow a further Augustan precedent by celebrating the jubilee of its foundation by coinage.<sup>31</sup> It is true that *municipium* Bilbilis excels all colonies in its attention to imperial affairs by being the only Roman city, and indeed apparently the only city of any kind, to accord numismatic mention to the consulship of Sejanus.<sup>32</sup> But, against this, *municipi-*

<sup>23</sup> See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Bilbilis, and apparently Italica, Osca, Calagurris. Tingis, if Tiberian, falls in the late twenties. Cf. Chapter I, loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup> *FITA*, pp. 324 f. Possibly, however, as Jones suggests (*JRS*, 1941, p. 29) the *municipia* did not yet possess what was later known as the *ius italicum*, attributed to them in *FITA*, p. 315.

<sup>26</sup> Such assimilative developments as occurred (if any) would form part of a process, inherited from Augustus, of gradual encroachment on Roman cities in general: see Chapter II, section ii, subsection C.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Calagurris, Italica, Uselia.

<sup>28</sup> *FITA*, p. 172.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 162, 169.

<sup>30</sup> *FITA*, p. 169, n. 3, against Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*, p. 87.

<sup>31</sup> See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection B; and below, Appendix 6.

<sup>32</sup> Vives, IV, p. 56, no. 17 (TI·CAESARE V·, L· AELIO SEIANO COS·), cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 293; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I, p. 299, n. 3; Kornemann, *DR*, p. 45, n. 4; Rogers, p. 28.

*um* Emporiae in the same province retains complete "autonomy" of type which persisted until the cessation of its issues, which probably occurred in the reign of Caligula;<sup>83</sup> and in any case a reference to Sejanus *cos.* is comparable to the Balbus *pont.* of Gades under Augustus.<sup>84</sup>

On the whole, then, it cannot be concluded that the coinage bears witness either to any diminution of municipal mints under Tiberius, or to any increased assimilation of colonies and *municipia*. This negative conclusion is in accordance with our literary *locus classicus* for this principate; for we learn from a speech of Hadrian, reported by Gellius,<sup>85</sup> that the distinction between the two classes of community was still considered significant enough under Tiberius for Praeneste to petition for a return from colonial status to the theoretically more independent position of a *municipium*. Moreover, certain new *municipia* seem to have been created after his accession as before it, notably Cambodunum and conceivably Anagnia and Carnuntum.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 156. Henderson, *JRS*, 1942, p. 7, doubts whether this was a Caesarian *municipium*, as *FITA*, p. 155.

<sup>84</sup> *FITA*, p. 172.

<sup>85</sup> *Noct. Att.*, XVI, 3, cf. Last, *CAH*, XI, p. 454, Pippidi, *RCI*, pp. 708, n. 1, *FITA*, p. 325.

<sup>86</sup> See below, Appendix 5.

## APPENDIX 3

### Spectrographic Analyses<sup>1</sup>

SPECTROGRAPHIC analyses recorded in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, by the method there described,<sup>2</sup> were made by Mr. D. M. Smith under the auspices of the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association. Such analyses as are quoted in the text of the present study, where no reference to *From Imperium to Auctoritas* is given, were undertaken by the same expert through the kindness of Messrs. Johnson, Matthey and Co., Ltd. The method used, somewhat different from that employed on the earlier occasion, is described as follows: "A spark (0.005 uF capacity and 0.06 mH added self-inductance, a 2 mm. spark gap) was passed between a pointed rod of pure graphite and the edge of the coin supported in a specially constructed V-shaped holder with spring clip. A pre-spark period of 5 seconds was given and two exposures of 20 seconds on the same spot were photographed with a flat-field medium size quartz spectrograph, on Ilford Ordinary plates. . . . In the absence of standard copper alloys of known composition, it is not possible to give the percentages of the alloys in question. The coins showing the highest content are grouped under 'A,' the next highest content 'B,' and so on. Unfortunately these groups are not very sharply divided and in some cases it has been difficult to assign a coin definitely to one group. Moreover, the relative proportions as represented by the various groups cannot be stated, again on account of the lack of analysed samples." Lead and zinc constituents are classified A-C, and tin A-E, since "tin can be detected in smaller quantities than zinc."

It should be noted that these classifications do not necessarily correspond with those in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*. The following notes on the new classifications need to be added:

(1) Mr. D. M. Smith points out that all the coins analysed under the auspices of Messrs. Johnson and Matthey—a varied selection including official copper and *orichalcum*, and the bronze of peregrine cities, in addition to the colonial and municipal coins described here—"probably con-

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, section ii, subsection A.

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, p. 493.

tain lead present as an impurity,"<sup>3</sup> even where it is not present as an intended constituent. The spark spectra do not show it in every case, but he considers that the more sensitive arc method probably would. However, the spark method is for our purpose quite sensitive enough, indeed too sensitive, in identifying minute constituents; for, from the metrological standpoint, accidental constituents are of little interest.<sup>4</sup>

(2) "E tin," in the new classification, is estimated by Mr. D. M. Smith at less than 0.1%. Likewise "C lead" and "C zinc" are estimated at more than 0.01% but less than 1%: that is to say, for the present purpose they are negligible quantities. This means, however, that the possibility of "B lead" and "B zinc" also being occasionally accidental cannot be entirely ruled out. This last point raises a question in regard to the old (*From Imperium to Auctoritas*) classification which deserves to be mentioned here. Does "C/D zinc," in that classification, justify interpretation as *orichalcum*? "C zinc" has been considered by the present writer to do so,<sup>5</sup> and this is probably correct; but zinc is known to occur in many cases as an impurity.<sup>6</sup> The spectrographic method has remarkable advantages—in respect of the saving of time, coins, labour and expense—which may well lead to its extensive use by numismatists; but there are individual cases of this kind in which chemical analyses, such as have recently yielded good results to Caley, should as far as possible be continued. Only a minute proportion of Roman *aes* coinage has so far received either chemical or spectrographic analysis.

<sup>3</sup> For impurities see Caley, pp. 151 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, however, they might eventually be used to test provenance.

<sup>5</sup> *FITA*, pp. 13, 493, n. 12.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Caley, pp. 28, 82, 109, 159.



## APPENDIX 4

### Weights and Denominations<sup>1</sup>

**W**HILE not minimising the importance of metrology, the present writer has not weighed (or recorded the weighings of) more than eighty-five specimens of the coinages described in this study. The results are recorded here in the hope that they will render some small assistance to the much more thorough operations of an eventual corpus.

<i>No. in list</i>	<i>Number of specimens weighed</i>	<i>Average weight to nearest grain</i>
4	3	64
5	1	50
6	3	77
8	1	62
11	4	125
12	4	71
13	1	143
15	25	106
16	1	63
18	2	333
19	2	199
20	2	107
21	1	317
22	2	239
23	2	121
24	2	462
25	1	315
26	3	106
29	3	678
30	4	228
31	2	125
32	1	87
33	1	118
34, 37-39	8	172

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, section ii, subsection A.

No. in list	Number of specimens weighed	Average weight to nearest grain
35	1	72
41	2	101
50	1	51
52	1	96
53	1	82

This evidence is not complete enough to warrant any confident metrological conclusions. Indeed, even if every extant specimen had been weighed, it would still be necessary to bear in mind the likelihood that many different standards existed simultaneously. However, the following conjectural arrangement of denominations is one of a number of possibilities:

*Sestertii* : Nos. 17, 24, 29.

*Dupondii* : Nos. 14 (?), 18, 25, 27, 30.

*Asses* : Nos. 13, 19, 21 (?), 22, 34, 37-39, 49 (?).

*Semisses* : Nos. 10, 11, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 31, 32 (?), 33, 41 (?), 42-46, 48, 52, 53.

*Quadrantes*: Nos. 1-9, 12, 16, 35, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51.

The coins of Paestum, which weigh the same under Tiberius as in the later years of Augustus, are believed to be *quadrantes*,<sup>2</sup> and in the list given above a number of other pieces are ascribed to the same denomination; but such interpretations are more usually conjectural, since *quadrantes* often deviated in weight (usually in an upward direction) from one-quarter of the *as* on which they were based.<sup>3</sup>

The bulk of our pieces are here tentatively classified as *semisses*, a denomination not unknown under the early principate.<sup>4</sup> One would have expected the unitary denomination to be the more frequent, and it might have been struck below weight; but, none the less, a low denomination for these small pieces is suggested by the considerable number of larger denominations issued, and particularly by the very large size of certain other coins—e.g. issues of Gades under Augustus (c. 630 gr.),<sup>5</sup> and our

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, p. 288 and n. 2 (nos. 1-9 here).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> *FITA*, p. 125 (references).

<sup>5</sup> *FITA*, p. 172 and n. 6.

no. 29 of Hippo Diarrhytus (c. 678 gr.).<sup>6</sup> These bronze pieces<sup>7</sup> are presumably *sestertii*, since a higher *aes* denomination than this is improbable:<sup>8</sup> their high weight is not inconsistent with the 421 grains of the official *sestertius* of *orichalcum*.<sup>9</sup> But if this is what they are, nos. 25, 27 and 30 are likely to be *dupondii*, nos. 26, 28 and 31 *asses*; compare nos. 22 and 23 respectively at Thapsus.<sup>10</sup> If this is so, then the smaller pieces in this series cannot, if they belong to the same standard (of which, indeed, there is no proof), be *asses* also, but must be *semisses*.

On this assumption our bronze *as* ranges from c. 234 to c. 160 grains. Within this range, too, fall the abundant Tiberian bronze pieces of many Spanish cities, and also the bronze units (surely *asses*) of Nemausus during the whole Julio-Claudian period.<sup>11</sup> The weight of the copper *as* at Rome is, appropriately,<sup>12</sup> at the bottom of this range (168.5 grains).<sup>13</sup>

As stated in the text, however, no tightening of the standard under Tiberius can be deduced from the apparently smaller fluctuations of the colonial *as* in his reign than in the reign of Augustus. It is true that under

<sup>6</sup> But weights here fluctuate so greatly, among the only three pieces weighed, that the average may not be reliable: they are 840, 628.8 and 564.8 grains (Müller). These pieces with the name of P. Cornelius Dolabella weigh considerably more than the corresponding ones with that of L. Apronius (no. 24), which average only c. 462 grains, rather more than Tiberian issues of Acci (c. 415), Tarraco (c. 400), Caesaraugusta (c. 440) and Turiaso (c. 390): Hill, *NVM*, 50, 1931, Plates XV, 5, V, 8, XXXIII, 4, etc. But this disparity of weights between the two sets of pieces of apparently the same denomination may conceivably have something to do with the fact that the former overlapped, while the latter preceded, Tiberius' reform of the coinage in A.D. c. 22-23 (*RAI*, Chapter III, section i). For this reform included the issue of *sestertii* of *orichalcum* attaining for the first time the proper weight of 421 grains (no *sestertii* at all having been issued at Rome for many years), and this may have compelled local mints (which probably had an unfavourable rate of exchange with official issues, cf. Caley, p. 149) to keep their bronze issues heavier.

<sup>7</sup> But the Gades coins have not been analysed, so it cannot be proved that they are of bronze.

<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence of survival of the Republican *trepassis* (*FITA*, pp. 31, 44, 88, 208).

<sup>9</sup> For the weight of the latter, Mattingly, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. liv. Bronze was considered less valuable than *orichalcum*: *RIC*, I, p. 24, *FITA*, p. 300, against Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Ancient Times*, p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> On this interpretation, the issues of Hippo and Thapsus are tridenominational and quadridenominational respectively.

<sup>11</sup> C. 189 grains: *FITA*, pp. 75, 300.

<sup>12</sup> For bronze was probably considered less valuable than copper: *FITA*, p. 300, against Burns, *Money and Monetary Policy in Ancient Times*, p. 305.

<sup>13</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xlv.

Augustus such *asses* seem on occasion to have been as heavy as 350 and as light as 80 grains,<sup>14</sup> but if we limit the comparison to the last sixteen years of his reign (the procedure that has been adopted for other such comparisons<sup>15</sup>), variations of this magnitude no longer occur. For in that period<sup>16</sup> there are practically no colonial pieces over 300 grains and very few over 250; the Spanish coinage already varies within comparatively narrow limits; and such small pieces as are attributable to those years have as much claim to be considered *semisses* as have similar pieces under Tiberius.

<sup>14</sup> *FITA*, p. 300.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, Appendices 2, 5.

<sup>16</sup> For the coinage of those years see Chapter I, section ii, subsection D; for *municipia*, Appendix 2.

## APPENDIX 5

### Colonial foundations and their coinages under Tiberius<sup>1</sup>

THE fact that a number of cities which had coined between Actium and A.D. 14 did not coin under Tiberius is of no economic significance, since it is often to be explained by the fact that these cities had owed their Augustan mintages to a *deductio* or *constitutio* or *restitutio*, occasions which did not recur at the same cities under the second *princeps*. A very considerable proportion of the colonial and municipal issues of Augustus had belonged to this category of "foundation" or "restoration" coinages.<sup>2</sup> In attempting to examine the practice of his successor in this respect, we are faced at the outset with an apparent contrast. Under Tiberius no *municipium*, and not more than one colony (if that), seems to maintain the custom of celebrating its foundation by coinage. This single colony to which a Tiberian issue of this category is tentatively attributed is Panormus: the present writer has elsewhere offered arguments, albeit admittedly conjectural ones, for attributing our issue no. 10 (Plate I, 15) to a colonial foundation (or rather re-foundation in the Roman right, after a peregrine hiatus since there had been a long-extinct Julian *constitutio* as a *municipium*<sup>3</sup>) in the early years of the principate of Tiberius.<sup>4</sup> This attribution is chiefly based on the probability that all other names of proconsuls appearing on the coinage of Roman cities in Sicily are ascribable to a similar purpose.<sup>5</sup> The other governors in question are Augustan, but a Tiberian date seems not improbable for the foundation of Panormus.<sup>6</sup> If this is so, Silva or Silvanus,<sup>7</sup> whose coin strikingly resembles a peregrine issue of that city,<sup>8</sup> was (by the anal-

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, pp. 290 ff. sum up.

<sup>3</sup> *FITA*, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *FITA*, pp. 196 ff., 237 f. The present writer's chronological interpretation of the Augustan colonisation and municipalisation of Sicily differs from that of Kahrestedt, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *FITA*, pp. 197 f., n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> For the name see recently Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 94, 2, who, however, favoured an earlier date.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bahrfeldt, *RS*, 1904, Plate IV, 92.

ogy of the Augustan governors<sup>9</sup>) perhaps the proconsul who undertook the *adsignatio* on behalf of the *deductor* Tiberius. Issues nos. 11 ff., lacking proconsular signatures, could conveniently (though conjecturally) be considered to belong, in whole or in part, to the category, described in *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, of second mintages from the foundation fund.<sup>10</sup> These attributions are, however, it must be repeated, still guess-work. We cannot, for instance, exclude the possibility that another issue, mentioning L. Seius, might be the foundation issue of Panormus, rather than of Haluntium to which it has been ascribed.<sup>11</sup>

There is nothing surprising about the idea of a Tiberian colonial or municipal foundation; for recent research has suggested that a number of such foundations may have occurred. Most of the possible instances to which attention has been directed are in the Danubian provinces. Saria<sup>12</sup> and Chilver<sup>13</sup> plausibly ascribe Emona to this class. The present writer has attempted, in *Roman Anniversary Issues*, to attribute a coin of Gallienus to the quarter-millenary of a Tiberian *deductio* of Siscia.<sup>14</sup> Scarabantia<sup>15</sup> and Naronna<sup>16</sup> also may well have been colonised not long after the death of Augustus. The same could apply to Aquincum,<sup>17</sup> and possibly to a site on Lake Balaton.<sup>18</sup> Cambodunum looks like a Tiberian *municipium*.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps, like other early imperial *municipia*, it contained a draft of settlers.<sup>20</sup> The same may conceivably be true of Carnuntum.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 293.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291, nn. 3 ff. See Plate I, 16-20.

<sup>11</sup> *FITA*, pp. 197, 199.

<sup>12</sup> *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, II, 10, 1938. Cf. *CIL*, III, 10768.

<sup>13</sup> *JRS*, 1939, p. 269.

<sup>14</sup> *RAI*, Chapter VII, section i.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ritterling, *RE*, XII, 1243 ff., against Kornemann, *RE*, XVI, 596. Kahrstedt, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1935, p. 239, is sceptical about such foundations.

<sup>16</sup> Ritterling, loc. cit. On sources for Illyrian road-building under Tiberius, see Last, *JRS*, 1943, pp. 104, Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 651.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Alföldi, *CAH*, XI, p. 544 (garrison).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 544 f., cf. Kuszinsky, *The Archaeology of the Neighbourhood of the Lake Balaton* (in Hungarian), figures 88, 101, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Stade, *CAH*, XI, p. 532.

<sup>20</sup> *FITA*, pp. 155, 169, 324.

<sup>21</sup> It at least reached the stage of being a legionary headquarters (cf. Betz, *Wiener Akademische Rundschau*, V, 1, 1945, p. 3), though this does not necessarily imply that it was an *oppidum civium Romanorum*.

Nor are such possibilities (for they cannot be called more) limited to the Danubian area. In Sicily at least one *municipium*, namely Haluntium, may have been founded in the immediately preceding period, that is to say in the last years of Augustus.<sup>22</sup> A late Augustan "foundation" at Haluntium (if there was one) would add plausibility to the suggestion that, under Tiberius, Sicily was still considered a suitable area for city-foundations such as that of Panormus. This would be consistent with the building activity which is known to have occurred in this province under Tiberius.<sup>23</sup> Immigration into Africa may also conceivably have caused *deductiones*,<sup>24</sup> and other areas possibly witnessed similar developments.<sup>25</sup> As regards Italy, the evidence, if not necessarily more accurate, is at least more positive: we hear of a new *deductio* at Tifernum,<sup>26</sup> and Anagnia is said to have been "refounded" by "Drusus Caesar,"<sup>27</sup> presumably Drusus junior.<sup>28</sup>

We cannot, then, confidently accept statements that no colonisation occurred under Tiberius.<sup>29</sup> It seems probable that he founded certain colonies in the Western provinces. When Augustus bequeathed to Tiberius a warning to be cautious in his grants of citizenship,<sup>30</sup> he would not expect such foundations to be dispensed with altogether. Indeed Augustus himself, while almost totally abstaining from new Eastern foundations, had established or re-established many more Western colonies and *municipia* than has generally been believed.<sup>31</sup> The list of Ro-

<sup>22</sup> *FITA*, p. 199.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Rogers, p. 213, n. 127, Scramuzza, *ESAR*, III, p. 372, 376.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *SEH*, p. 282.

<sup>25</sup> The possibility of foundations under Gaius should likewise be considered.

<sup>26</sup> *Liber Coloniarum* = *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 224, cf. Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 218.

<sup>27</sup> *Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 230, cf. Ciaceri, loc. cit. But the character of the foundation is uncertain since Anagnia was, later, still a *municipium*, cf. Rogers, p. 136. References in the *Liber Coloniarum* to "Calagna" (*Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*, p. 231, and Cereatae Marianae (ibid., p. 233) cannot be corroborated, cf. Rogers, loc. cit., discounting Ciaceri, loc. cit.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 285, n. 6. For other possibilities in Italy see Pais, *Mem. Lincei*, 1920, pp. 80, 84, Degraasi, *Athenaeum*, 1946, pp. 42 ff. (Parentium).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. Dessau, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II, 1, p. 90, Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 279, n. 26, p. 281, n. 45.

<sup>30</sup> Dio 52.33.3, cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, ii, p. 543.

<sup>31</sup> *FITA*, p. 306.

man foundations which have here been quoted as possibly ascribable to Tiberius is likewise exclusively Western.<sup>32</sup>

Besides the Augustan precedents, there are other historical grounds for not rejecting out of hand this view of Tiberian foundations. The conciliatory discharges of troops which, we know, followed the mutinies of A.D. 14<sup>33</sup> may well have been accompanied by land allotments, as in the comparable stress of the early Augustan period, rather than by the gratuities which, since 13 B.C., had cost Augustus so much.<sup>34</sup> One of our possible Tiberian colonies, Anagnia, seems to have been founded, as has been said, by Drusus junior, and the settlers were possibly men who had been ex-soldiers under him in Illyricum.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, a number of the colonies here ascribed tentatively to Tiberius are situated in the very Illyrian lands in which the most serious mutiny had taken place. It was only later that in the interests of economy, Tiberius could venture to be more grudging in the award of *civitas* to discharged veterans<sup>36</sup>—and, as an alternative procedure, to grant *civitas* in lieu of discharge.<sup>37</sup>

This obscure subject of Roman foundations by Tiberius reminds us that his enactments on a variety of subjects may have been more numerous and important than our surviving information reports.<sup>38</sup> Comparable to *deductiones* and *constitutiones* of Roman cities, on a smaller scale, were promotions of communities to *Latinitas*, and these too may well

<sup>32</sup> In the East Tiberius, like Augustus, concentrated on peregrine foundations: cf. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 74, 89, 137, 163 f., 267, Smith, p. 240, Ciaceri, *Tiberio Successore di Augusto*, p. 221, Charlesworth, *CR*, 1932, p. 265.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *FITA*, p. 197, n. 6.

<sup>34</sup> On the Augustan policy see particularly Syme, *RR*, p. 352.

<sup>35</sup> On his régime there, see most recently Betz, *JAIW*, 1943; Beiblatt, pp. 131 f.; and Rogers, pp. 119 ff. The *Liber Coloniarum* says *populus deduxit* of Anagnia (*FITA*, p. 284), but possibly Drusus—and Germanicus elsewhere—may have been allowed to hold the position of founder, perhaps like C. Caesar Aug. n. earlier at Berytus, *FITA*, p. 259, cf. pp. xv, 239, n. 7. Drusus junior also gave a city-gate to Laus Pompeia with Tiberius, *CIL*, V, 6358, cf. Rogers, p. 136.

<sup>36</sup> There seems no good reason to assign the change in policy to A.D. c. 19, as Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 279, n. 26, p. 281, n. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Birley, *JRS*, 1938, p. 226. It may, however, have been not Tiberius but Claudius who developed most extensively the practice of giving *civitas* to *auxilarii*, cf. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 192.

<sup>38</sup> On various aspects of these, see Hammond, pp. 161, 163, 296, n. 23, 298, n. 40; Charlesworth, *CAH*, X, p. 613, n. 2; Buckland, *ibid.*, XI, p. 812; Kornemann, *Gnomon*, 1938, p. 561; Arangio-Ruiz, *Augustus*, p. 142.



have continued in the principate of Tiberius.<sup>39</sup> This may have been the cause of unprecedented and isolated Tiberian coinages at three Latin cities of Nearer Spain, namely Graccurris, Osicerda and Cascantum.<sup>40</sup> Similar isolated issues, both in Spain and elsewhere, have very often proved to commemorate city-promotions and foundations;<sup>41</sup> and, indeed, this character has been specifically ascribed to Augustan mintages of Segobriga, Ercavica, Segovia and other Latin cities.<sup>42</sup> Finally, outside Roman or Latin foundations, Tiberius, doubtless without exceeding the bounds prescribed by Augustus, also awarded citizenship to a fair number of individuals.<sup>43</sup>

Perhaps then the policy of Tiberius regarding enfranchisement, if not spectacular in comparison with Caesar, was not altogether negative.<sup>44</sup> At first sight, it is true, his foundations and foundation-coinages seem few in comparison with those of Augustus; but if, as is more appropriate,<sup>45</sup> we compare his practice with Augustus' last period (2 B.C.-A.D. 14), the apparent contrast vanishes. The last decade or so of the lifetime of Augustus may perhaps have witnessed the *constitutio* of *municipia* Agrigentum and Haluntium;<sup>46</sup> but a policy of economic retrenchment was being followed, and the ascription to that period of colonies—at least in appreciable numbers—is unlikely. Thus in those years, as under Tiberius, the foundation-coinages that were so common in the first decade after

<sup>39</sup> Cf. McElderry, *JRS*, 1918, p. 74. But Abdera should probably not be included in this category, Sutherland, *RIS*, p. 245, n. 29, against Hubner, *CIL*, II, p. 267; probably there were some stipendiary foundations also.

<sup>40</sup> Vives, IV, pp. 113, 101, 108; Hill, 50, 1931, pp. 181, 100, 168. For the Latin status of these cities see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, 24.

<sup>41</sup> *FITA*, p. 290.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 335 ff. For Tiberian coinages of Segobriga and Ercavica see Vives, IV, pp. 48, 109, *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xxiii. Another Latin city which coins under Tiberius is Carteia, cf. *FITA*, p. 473, Rogers, p. 135 (GERMANICO ET DRVSO II VIR·).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Pippidi, *REL*, 1932, p. 285; Scramuzza, *EC*, pp. 84, 257, n. 2, 258, n. 11, 259, n. 14; Smith, pp. 118 f., 244, nn. 106 f.; Ramsay, *SBRP*, p. 46; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, IV, p. 239. For the constitutional basis of enfranchisement, Hammond, p. 256, n. 50; Scramuzza, *EC*, p. 276, n. 7; cf. M. Pomponius Marcellus: *tu enim, Caesar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbo non potes*, Suet., *Gramm.*, 22; cf. Buckland, *CAH*, XI, p. 816, n. 1.

<sup>44</sup> As Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 181; Last, *CAH*, p. 447.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Chapter I, section ii, subsections A-D, and Appendices 2 and 4.

<sup>46</sup> *FITA*, pp. 197 ff.

Actium do not recur;<sup>47</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that the tempo of foundations was any livelier than it became under Tiberius. But even if we consider, not the sparsity of the late Augustan period only, but the abundance of foundation issues in the early post-Actian years, deductions can only be drawn with great caution. For there is another contrast besides the merely numerical one which would explain, in part at least, the disparity of foundation-coinage. This other contrast is a geographical one: for Spain, the area where Augustan foundation-coinage was most abundant, had no doubt been colonised to capacity, and is not the area in which traces of Tiberian colonisation and municipalisation are prominent. The latter regions are rather those where action was necessitated by one of the great revolts of A.D. 14—namely Illyricum and Pannonia. But unlike Spain, these are areas in which no colonial or municipal coinage of Tiberius, whether celebrating foundations or otherwise, is to be expected. For no such coinage occurs in this part of the world in any other principate either.<sup>48</sup> These were provinces where the official *aes* circulated, and had already circulated,<sup>49</sup> too freely for local currencies to be considered necessary;<sup>50</sup> and the general ban on the latter evidently comprised foundation-issues.

<sup>47</sup> Sicily, the one province which may have issued foundation-coinage in the last years of Augustus, may have remained the one province to do so under Tiberius.

<sup>48</sup> The only peregrine coinage, even, is as far south as Apollonia, Head, p. 315. (But Augustan issues ascribed to that mint by Mionnet, *Supplément*, III, p. 321, no. 1736, are to be reattributed to Apollonia Pontica of the Euxine Hexapolis, *FITA*, p. 353.)

<sup>49</sup> *FITA*, p. 92, nn. 15, 16, p. 93, nn. 1, 2 (references).

<sup>50</sup> Barbarous imitations to some extent took their place. Such imitations of Augustan and late Tiberian official *aes* are common, but those of early Tiberian pieces are very rare. Many copies are known of the *asses* with Agrippa and Neptune: these are ascribed to the last years of Tiberius by Sutherland, *Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, XIV, 1947 (Camulodunum), p. 155, but in *NC*, 1948, pp. 125 f., the present writer prefers to attribute them to Caligula and Claudius.

## APPENDIX 6

### Local and imperial jubilees under Tiberius<sup>1</sup>

**I**F one of the main features of colonial and municipal coinage under Augustus was the foundation-issue, another was the jubilee-issue. This category comprises mintages signalling the twenty-fifth, fiftieth, hundredth and other anniversaries of the *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio* of the minting city.<sup>2</sup> Unlike foundation coinages,<sup>3</sup> this custom of jubilee issues shows no sign of waning before the death of Augustus, for the relevant issues of all of these cities except two<sup>4</sup> fall within the last *decennium* of his principate.

An examination of the issues of Tiberius seems to warrant the suggestion that, as under Augustus, certain cities issued coinage to celebrate anniversaries of their *deductio*, *constitutio* or *restitutio*. In considering the coinage of Augustus it was found that isolated colonial issues—that is to say those which followed and were followed by long numismatic silences at the cities in question—were often of this jubilee character. Just such an isolated piece is our no. 52 of Pisidian Antioch (Plate V, 15). Its portrait is of Tiberius' middle period (A.D. 22).<sup>5</sup> The only known preceding issues of this mint had portraits imitated from official coinage of c. 19-17 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> and no subsequent mintage seems to occur until A.D. 76, under Vespasian. The issue of Vespasian has been ascribed in *Roman Anniversary Issues*<sup>7</sup> to the centenary—which fell in that very year—of whatever change occurred in the status of Pisidian Antioch when the kingdom of Amyntas passed into Roman hands in 25 B.C. The significantly isolated issue of Tiberius may celebrate either the half-centenary of the same occasion, which occurred in A.D. 26, or alternatively the half-cente-

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, p. 295 (summary): Dyrrhachium, Cnossus, Patrae(?), Uselis (as *municipium*), Cirta(?), Carthage(?), Lugdunum(?), Lystra. Cf. the peregrine city of Leptis Minor, *FITA*, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix 5.

<sup>4</sup> Dyrrhachium and Cnossus.

<sup>5</sup> It is hoped to publish elsewhere a note on local coin-portraiture and the deductions which it is permissible to draw from it.

<sup>6</sup> *FITA*, p. 251 and n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> *RAI*, Chapter V, section i.

nary of Galatia's provincialisation in c. 20-19 B.C., which was perhaps contemporary with the *deductio* of the colony at Antioch in Pisidia.

Comparable, and a more straightforward example of a likely half-centenary coinage, is an issue under Tiberius of the Spanish *municipium* of Dertosa (Plate VI, 5).<sup>8</sup> This, too, has a portrait of the middle period. It is even more completely isolated in date than the mintage of Pisidian Antioch. For Dertosa does not seem to have coined previously since the single occasion of its *constitutio*, which has been attributed in *From Imperium to Auctoritas* to c. 30-28 B.C.;<sup>9</sup> and after the single Tiberian issue no further coins of this mint are known.

A variant of the same custom of jubilee coinage seems to be provided by *colonia* Parium. Here a coinage showing Drusus junior, tentatively interpreted as official<sup>10</sup> (Plate VIII, 10), must have been issued just about half-a-century after 30-29 B.C., the date to which a *restitutio* of this city has been ascribed.<sup>11</sup> A *restitutio* of Pella by Octavian is attributable to the same year,<sup>12</sup> and its fiftieth anniversary (A.D. 20-21) would be a suitable date for the early portrait of our no. 34 (Plate IV, 6-7).

Hippo Diarrhytus and Thapsus, however, which seem to have begun their coinage in honour of proconsuls at about the same date<sup>13</sup> (Plate II, 7, Plate III, 6, etc.), recall that the anniversaries commemorated by such coinages need not be purely local or even—as perhaps in the case of Pisidian Antioch—provincial in significance. The anniversaries thus celebrated may instead, or as well, possess an imperial character. For the mintages of these two African cities, with their honours—simultaneously paralleled in Asia—to the proconsuls who were also *amici principis*, coincided, not perhaps with colonial half-centenaries,<sup>14</sup> but particularly with the half-centenaries of great occasions which prompted much official anniversary coinage, namely Actium and *Aegyptus capta*.

There was nothing new about this Tiberian celebration of imperial

<sup>8</sup> Vives, IV, p. 18; Hill, *NNM*, 50, 1931, p. 74; *FITA*, p. 158, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *FITA*, pp. 158, 161.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>11</sup> *FITA*, p. 249.

<sup>12</sup> *FITA*, p. 283.

<sup>13</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

<sup>14</sup> The present writer now believes the two cities to have been founded in c. 47-46 B.C. and c. 36-35 B.C. respectively.

anniversaries by Roman cities. The same practice had occurred under Augustus. Moreover he too apparently, on precisely these occasions, had allowed similar numismatic honours to his *amici*, for he seems to have selected for this purpose an official anniversary, namely the *vicennium* of the *republica restituta* (7 B.C.).<sup>15</sup> Indeed, in this whole question of jubilee coinages, as in regard to foundation-issues, our limited evidence suggests that Tiberius did not deviate from the practice of Augustus.

<sup>15</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii.

## APPENDIX 7

### Some Case-Usages in Ethnicus

- (a) Unusual form of Nominative Singular(?): THAPSV M (nos. 22 f.: Plate III, 1, 2).
- (b) Ablative Singular: HIP PONE LIBERA (nos. 18-20: Plate II, 4, 6, 8).
- (c) Nominative Plural: THAMPSITANI (sic) (no. 21: Plate I, 14).
- (d) Genitive Plural: PAN[H]ORMITANORV[M] (nos. 11-13: Plate I, 16).

*Comments.* (a) At first sight this would seem to be an Accusative, and the same interpretation has been given to CORINTHVM under Augustus.<sup>1</sup> But the significance of an Accusative ethnic would be obscure, and the full legend THAPSV M (presumably Subject) IVN· AVG· (presumably Object or recipient<sup>2</sup>) increases our doubts. The terminations of city-names sometimes vary, especially in Africa.<sup>3</sup>

(b) This is repeated from Augustan issues.<sup>4</sup> At Carthago Nova under Tiberius we find an Ablative Singular following IN,<sup>5</sup> which seems rather derogatory to the authority of the city.<sup>6</sup> ACHVLLA (no. 14) and similar unvarnished ethnics are usually treated as Nominatives but may in some cases have been intended as Ablatives.

(c) The only known precedents are at Greek cities,<sup>7</sup> among which Antioch, as here, associates the Nominative Plural with a dedicatory Dative.<sup>8</sup> At Utica under Tiberius we apparently have M(*unicipes*) M(*unicipi*) I· V· (Plate VIII, 9).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *FITA*, pp. 225, 266.

<sup>2</sup> For its interpretation see Chapter III, section iv, subsection A.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. SITVM and Zit(h) a, Σύλλεκτον and Sullechthi, Thubursicum and Θουβουρσικα: *FITA*, pp. 187 f.

<sup>4</sup> *FITA*, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215, n. 11, cf. Lorichs, *Recherches Numismatiques*, p. 111, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection C, n. 106.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Pitane (*FITA*, p. 387) and Pergamum (*FITA*, p. 388), both with Accusative Singulars of the person honoured.

<sup>8</sup> *FITA*, p. 376.

<sup>9</sup> See above, Appendix 2.

(d) A Hellenism: the city had, only a few years earlier while still peregrine, been inscribing its coinage with the Greek Genitive Plural, the normal Ethnic Case in that language. The legend HISPAN-ORVM had been placed by Sex. Pompeius on coinage issued apparently at this very city, and also perhaps at Syracuse.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, Thapsus<sup>11</sup> and Paestum,<sup>12</sup> like other cities under Augustus,<sup>13</sup> show varying arrangements of initials comprising ethnic titles.

<sup>10</sup> *FITA*, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>11</sup> C·P·I· (nos. 24 ff., Plate III, 3 ff.), as against C·I·P· under Augustus (*FITA*, p. 225).

<sup>12</sup> P·A·E·S· (Plate I, 1), S·P· (Plate I, 9), P·S· (normal).

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Cnossus (*FITA*, p. 262).

## APPENDIX 8

### The alleged suppression of "Altar" coinage in c. A.D. 21

MATTINGLY seems to be wrong in suggesting that the revolts of Sacrovir and Tacfarinas led Tiberius to diminish the Western coinage of Roman cities.<sup>1</sup> But the same writer links this to a second theory which, because of this link, needs to be mentioned here. According to this theory the revolt of Sacrovir was likewise followed by "the suppression of the 'Altar' coinage of the 'Council of the Gauls' at Lugdunum."<sup>2</sup> . . . There was some justification for mistrust of anything that fostered separatist tendencies in those provinces (sc. Gaul and Africa). The special Gallic issues, the 'Altar' coins of Lugdunum, were suspended."<sup>3</sup>

But this view seems to the present writer indefensible, since:

(i) There is no internal reason whatever for fixing c. A.D. 21 as the *terminus ante quem* for such few "Altar" *sestertii*, *dupondii* and *asses* as may have been issued by Tiberius after A.D. 14. If any such coins were issued at all, they are so rare that it is more natural to postulate a single issue, which might equally have been much earlier than A.D. 21. Indeed, the postulation of that date is doubly hazardous since, as Mattingly himself does not deny, it is actually uncertain whether any such pieces exist or ever existed;<sup>4</sup> but, even if they turn up, the objection remains valid.

(ii) This being so, the whole onus of Mattingly's theory falls on a Tiberian coinage that does not exceed the most insignificant dimensions. Indeed, though one must not rule out the possibility that some of the coins mentioned in (i) may exist, at present the only piece that remains firmly attributable to the principate of Tiberius is a mere *quadrans* or *semis*.<sup>5</sup> This issue is undateable: there is no internal reason whatever

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapter I, section ii, subsection D.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> *RC*, p. 112, cf. p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 127 n.: *sestertius* in British Museum "probably tooled" from a specimen issued before A.D. 14. "2 AE" with TI· CAESAR DIVI AVG· F· AVGVSTVS (Cohen 40) is accepted and described as an *as* in *RIC*, I, p. 104, no. 11; but *BMC*, loc. cit., is more cautious on both counts: "such a *dupondius* or *as* may, so far as we can judge, exist." "2 AE" adding PATER PATRIAE (Cohen 42) is doubted by *BMC*, loc. cit., as well as by *RIC*, I, p. 104, n. 3. Cf. also Willers, *NZ*, 1902, n. 94, and Strack, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXI, 1904, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> Willers, *NZ*, 1902, p. 98. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 127, no. 62, describes it as a *quadrans*, contradicting the description as a *semis* (ibid., p. lvi, and in *RIC*, p. 104, nos. 12-13).



for attributing it to A.D. 21 rather than e.g. A.D. 15, or any date between the two (or even after A.D. 21); moreover, it is not nearly large enough to be regarded as occupying the seven years A.D. 14-21, i.e. as representing a continuation, until the latter date, of the extensive late Augustan coinage.

(iii) The external arguments also are weak. The "Altar" pieces have no "separatist" qualities: they were official Roman coinage.<sup>6</sup>

(iv) Likewise, the Altar itself, far from being a focus for disloyalty, was chiefly devoted (naturally in Gallic forms) to the worship of the ruler: it was the very opposite of "separatist," for it was the deliberately chosen medium through which Gallic religious feeling was linked with emperor-worship.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *FITA*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116, cf. (the best modern description of the Altar), N. J. de Witt, *Urbanisation and the Franchise in Roman Gaul*, Diss: Johns Hopkins, 1938 (1940), pp. 14 f., n. 49.

## APPENDIX 9

### Non-imperial Romans at peregrine cities under Tiberius

A FEW words on this subject, in so far as it concerns the reign of Tiberius, are necessary in order that the comparable, though different, phenomenon of governors' appearances at *Roman* cities<sup>1</sup> may be seen in proper perspective. First, there are a number of exceedingly rare peregrine coins showing the heads of non-imperial Romans:

(1) Aegina: ΣΑΒ[ΕΙΝΟΣ ΑΙΓΙΝ]ΗΤΩΝ bare-headed portrait to right of C. Poppaeus Sabinus *amicus principum*—

ΑΙΑΚΟΣ dead man standing before seated figure of Aeacus: counter-mark of star.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Apollonia-Mordiaem: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ laureate head of Tiberius to right—

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΝΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ portrait of Cornutus, perhaps C. Julius Patrinus Cornutus, to right.<sup>3</sup>

(3) Priene (perhaps of Augustus) [ΠΟΜΠΗΙ]ΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΡ portrait to right of Pompeius Macer, librarian of Augustus or friend of Tiberius—ΠΡΙΗΝΕΩΝ Zeus standing to left by tripod-altar.<sup>4</sup>

(This custom by which peregrine cities honour Romans with coin-portraiture [for the procedure is purely honorary] does not end with Tiberius, for under Claudius [who spoke of his *legati* as *comites*,<sup>5</sup> thereby following a Republican tradition<sup>6</sup>] we find portraits of M. Annius Afrinus [*legatus Augusti propraetore* of Galatia] on local coinage at Iconi-

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

<sup>2</sup> *FITA*, Plate XII, no. 4, cf. p. 229 and n. 13 (Berlin). The head is rightly recognised as a non-imperial portrait by Friedlaender, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1871, p. 180, who does not, however, seem justified in refusing to attribute the piece to Aegina; Aeacus was the son of the nymph of that name.

<sup>3</sup> *FITA*, Plate XI, nos. 37 and 59 (Copenhagen, from Rhusopoulos collection, Hirsch sale XIII, no. 3873). In *NC*, 1949 (in press), I argue that this coin belongs to Apollonia-Mordiaem and not Apollonia Salbace.

<sup>4</sup> *FITA*, Plate IX, 34, pp. 388 f. (Paris, Waddington, no. 1928). Not of the third century, as Babelon (J.), *Aréthuse*, I, 1923, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *ILS*, 986, cf. later *ILS*, 423<sup>27</sup>, 5864.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stevenson, *CAH*, IX, p. 458.

um and Pessinus;<sup>7</sup> and of Veranius,<sup>8</sup> Marcellus<sup>9</sup> and Antius<sup>10</sup> [legati of Lycia-Pamphylia] at Cibyra.)

Secondly, the following mentions of non-imperial Romans—without portrayal—occur on Tiberian peregrine coinages (in the Genitive after EIII, cf. above, p. 52, n. 92):

(i) Nicomedia:<sup>11</sup> P. Vitellius, proconsul and *comes* of Germanicus<sup>12</sup> (with the latter's head).

(ii) Seleucia in Pieria:<sup>13</sup> Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, *legatus* and proposed relative by marriage of the imperial family.<sup>14</sup>

(iii) Antioch in Syria: ditto,<sup>15</sup> and L. Pomponius Flaccus.<sup>16</sup>

(iv) Aegeae (Cilicia):<sup>17</sup> (Q. Terentius?) Culleo.<sup>18</sup>

(v) Caesarea—Germanica(?): Sura.<sup>19</sup>

(vi) Tabae. Se . . . . (?), with the heads of Germanicus and Drusus junior (or Nero Drusus—in which case a Claudian date is perhaps more probable).<sup>20</sup>

(vii)-(xi) (silver coinage) Cydonia,<sup>21</sup> Eleuthernae,<sup>22</sup> Gortyna,<sup>23</sup> Hier-

<sup>7</sup> *FITA*, Plate XII, 10; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 416, no. 3; Babelon, *RN*, 1887, pp. 109 ff.; *PIR*, I<sup>2</sup>, 106, 630; Ramsay, *JRS*, 1922, p. 159.

<sup>8</sup> *FITA*, Plate XII, 16; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 256, no. 26; Löbbecke, *ZfN*, 1887, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *FITA*, Plate XII, 17; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 257, no. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Berlin: legend wrongly restored by Imhoof-Blumer, *KM*, p. 256, no. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Paris (Waddington, 458), Berlin, Zagreb: cf. Bosch, II, 1, p. 79, *RGMG*, I, 3, p. 516, no. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Syme, *RR*, pp. 356, 361, 487.

<sup>13</sup> *BMC*, *Galatia*, p. 273, nos. 33 f.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.

<sup>15</sup> *BMC*, *Galatia*, etc., p. 169, nos. 150-153.

<sup>16</sup> *BMC*, *Galatia*, etc., p. 170, no. 161, cf. *PIR*, III, p. 76, no. 538.

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, Rome, cf. Mionnet, *Supplément*, VII, p. 154, no. 120.

<sup>18</sup> *PIR*, III, p. 301, no. 54. Bickermann, *AJP*, 1947, p. 356, no. 23, considers him to have been not a governor but a deputy of the *legatus* of Syria.

<sup>19</sup> Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, p. 33, no. 54, cf. Macdonald, II, p. 582, no. 5; I hope to defend the present attribution elsewhere.

<sup>20</sup> Paris (de Ricci), wrongly described by Mionnet, *Supplément*, VI, p. 547, no. 530.

<sup>21</sup> Svoronos, I, pp. 113 f., nos. 110 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136, nos. 48 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181, no. 192.

apytna<sup>24</sup> and Polyrrhenium.<sup>25</sup> Cornelius Lupus,<sup>26</sup> *amicus Claudii*.<sup>27</sup>

The *aes* coins of Galatian mintage mentioning T. Helvius Basila, near the end of the reign,<sup>28</sup> seem to be official.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 194, nos. 46 f.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 284, no. 52.

<sup>26</sup> *PIR*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 344, no. 1400; de Laet, p. 114, no. 594.

<sup>27</sup> Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 13, 5.

<sup>28</sup> *FITA*, p. 328, nn. 2, 3.

<sup>29</sup> *FITA*, p. 354, n. 9, p. 399 (Ancyra and Pessinus). He is *legatus propraetore*.

## APPENDIX 10

### The eastern command of Germanicus

THE whole question of "vicegerents"<sup>1</sup> must be borne in mind when considering the constitutional situation of other sorts of governors such as the proconsuls. Thus, as an Appendix to our discussion of Tiberian proconsuls in Africa,<sup>2</sup> a brief statement is added here—and such a statement seems somewhat overdue—regarding the position, especially in the East, of the only Tiberian "vicegerent" in that area, Germanicus.

Tacitus describes the position of Germanicus in the East as comprising *maius imperium*, QVOQVO ADISSET, *quam iis qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent*.<sup>3</sup> This raises two main subjects—his relation to other proconsuls, and his relation to Tiberius. As regards the former of these subjects, we have two main possibilities: (1) that he possessed a "passive" (Type A) *imperium maius*, such as Cicero had hoped to secure for C. Cassius<sup>4</sup> before the latter obtained his more comprehensive and "active" (Type B) command.<sup>5</sup> (2) that he possessed no *imperium maius* vis-à-vis existing proconsuls, but only superior *auctoritas*—the latter being interpreted as the former by later anachronisms (such as the present writer has attributed to Dio's description of Agrippa's vicegerency<sup>6</sup>); in which case any areas which needed to come under his *imperium* can have been temporarily detached from their usual senatorial province and brought into his *provincia*.<sup>7</sup>

If we consider the second aspect of the problem, his relation to Tiberius, we have three possibilities: (A) he was a proconsul under the *imperium maius* of Tiberius; (B) he was a proconsul whose *imperium* was *aequum* to that of Tiberius (the position ascribed to Agrippa under Augustus by Piganiol<sup>8</sup> and Magdelain<sup>9</sup>); (C) he was *legatus Augusti pro-*

<sup>1</sup> I.e. of commanders and governors in the provinces who enjoyed a special position owing their membership of the imperial family.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann.*, II, 43, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Cic.*, *Phil.*, II, 30, cf. Syme, *JRS*, 1946, pp. 150, 154.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Last, *JRS*, 1947, p. 164 ("strikingly reminiscent.").

<sup>6</sup> *FITA*, pp. 427, 429, 445.

<sup>7</sup> However, for a time at least P. Vitellius seems to have enjoyed a normal proconsulship at this time: cf. Appendix 9 (Nicomedia).

<sup>8</sup> Piganiol, *Journal des Savants*, 1937, p. 152, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 73 f.

*praetore*, the position attributed to Augustan vicegerents by the present writer.<sup>10</sup>

But, in considering either the upward or the downward relations of his *imperium*, it is important to recall that for part of 18 he was consul (when a clash of *imperia* would hardly arise<sup>11</sup>); and that a special problem is raised by Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Nor is the question of his auspices any clearer than those of Augustan vicegerents in the East.<sup>13</sup> There is some excuse for doubts about the position of Germanicus when we recall that he himself was evidently at variance with Tiberius about his status in Egypt and with Piso about his powers in Syria. There are also ambiguities about his previous Western command, as regards *imperium*<sup>14</sup> and *auspicatio*.<sup>15</sup>

It is unsatisfactory to finish this note without even a tentative conclusion; but the questions involved are too intricate for further consideration in the present study. As has been said, they are chiefly relevant to it by reason of the possible comparisons and contrasts which the position of Germanicus may present to the position of the proconsuls; but the problems that have been outlined here each require fundamental consideration, and, if necessary, reconsideration, before any profit can be derived from these analogies.

<sup>10</sup> *FITA*, p. 428, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *FITA*, pp. 420, n. 4, 426.

<sup>12</sup> Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, pp. 227 f.; Siber, *Sav. Z.*, 1944, p. 264; and Smith, p. 96, against Schönbauer, *SB Wien*, 224, 2, 1946, p. 105, n. 271, deny that he possessed *imperium maius* there. On his so-called Egyptian edict see also recently Oliver, *AJA*, 1942, p. 388; Kalbfleisch, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 374 ff.; Post, *AJP*, 1944, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup> Du Four, p. 69, n. 6, points out that Mommsen was in two minds about the auspices of C. Caesar: in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*<sup>1</sup>, p. 225, he credited him with *auspicatio*, but *ibid.*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 173-175, he described this point as uncertain.

<sup>14</sup> These present two aspects: (a) did he first receive *imperium* under Augustus or Tiberius (Schwartz, *RPh*, 1945, p. 37, n. 1; *FITA*, pp. xvi, 429, n. 12)? (b) what was his relation to the usually senatorial province of Gallia Narbonensis? (He had performed a census there, and Hohl, *Klio*, 1942, attributes to him an *imperium maius*, against Schweitzer, *Klio*, 1941, p. 345; for certain aspects of censuses see Hammond, p. 229, n. 9; *FITA*, p. 129.) See Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, on Siber, *Abh. Leipzig*, 44.2, 1940, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> The operations were conducted *ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberii*, Tac., *Ann.*, II, 41, cf. Gagé, *RA*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 1 ff.; but cf. Drusus junior, Tac., *Ann.*, II, 19, *repetendis auspiciis*. Bayet, ed. Livy (Budé), I, p. xxi, n. 2, believes that Agrippa had possessed the auspices—unlike ordinary *legati*, Pease, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 126. See also above, pp. 61 f.

## APPENDIX 11

### The Augustan origins of the auspices of Tiberius

IT was under Augustus that the doctrine of imperial *auspicia* took shape;<sup>1</sup> and it seems possible that events of 20-19 B.C. and 12 B.C. may have been related to its origins. The case of M. Antonius(?) Primus, a proconsul of Macedonia,<sup>2</sup> who invaded Thrace in 24 or 23 B.C.<sup>3</sup> but then tried unsuccessfully to put the responsibility on the *princeps*, may conceivably suggest that an ambiguous position in regard to the auspices still existed at that time.<sup>4</sup> But in 20-19 B.C. no less than three developments occurred which may have clarified this situation. In the first place, it was in 20 that the first *ornamenta triumphalia* appear to have been awarded:<sup>5</sup> the fact that this new honour was, and remained, restricted to the imperial *provincia* seems to stress the monopolisation of the auspices. Secondly, it was no more than a single year later that the last triumph was awarded to a senatorial proconsul (L. Cornelius Balbus)<sup>6</sup>—the end of this custom may be associated with the recognition that such officials henceforward lacked the auspices. Thirdly, the same year witnessed the refusal of a triumph by Augustus, a refusal which was, however, far outweighed in historical importance by the simultaneous establishment in his honour of nothing less than a kind of triumphal cult<sup>7</sup>—indicating his position as the *triumphator* par excellence—a development highly relevant to the doctrine of the supreme *auspicia*. There is, it is true, no definite proof that this doctrine owed any part of its evolution to the events of 20-19 B.C., but this seems a not improbable deduction from their character.

In 12 B.C. Augustus became *pontifex maximus*, and his possession of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>2</sup> For his position see Volkmann, *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, 1935, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> For the date see Syme, *RR*, p. 333 (Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 136, n. 6, gives 23 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> For discussion see *FITA*, pp. 83 f.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *JRS*, 1936, pp. 169 ff., considered probable by Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, p. 140, cf. p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Stuart Jones, *CAH*, X, p. 138, n. 2, Syme, *JRS*, 1946, p. 156, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Abaecherli Boyce, *CP*, 1942, pp. 136 ff., 139.

that title was thereafter greatly stressed.<sup>8</sup> Tiberius stressed it also: thus one of our coins honouring the proconsul L. Apronius (Pl. II, 7, 8) distinguishes his portrait from that of Tiberius by the addition to the latter of *lituus* and *simpulum* (*simpuvium*). Combined in this way in relation to a single person,<sup>9</sup> the two implements symbolise the high-priesthood,<sup>10</sup> just as they had already under Augustus.<sup>11</sup> It has been suggested above that the *auspicia principis*, at least in so far as they related to Africa, were based primarily on the "Augustus"—*auctoritas* range of ideas. Whether or not high-priests possessed the auspices,<sup>12</sup> its tenure by Augustus formally increased his religious authority and so perhaps further facilitated the enhancement of the imperial *auspicia*.

The possibility of this connection is underlined by the significance of one of the emblems of the high-priesthood that appear on these coins. This is the *lituus*.<sup>13</sup> Developing a precedent utilised by Sulla,<sup>14</sup> Pompey<sup>15</sup> and Julius Caesar,<sup>16</sup> Augustus had come to use the *lituus* as a symbol of his religious position with special regard to his triumphal Virtues.<sup>17</sup> A *lituus* had appeared beside his bust on official coinage of 28 B.C.,<sup>18</sup> the year after the *augurium Salutis*.<sup>19</sup> It recurred in subsequent periods of

<sup>8</sup> On this see now Koch, *Gottheit und Mensch im Wandel der römischen Staatsform*, pp. 133 ff.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. when the combination does not comprise two separate persons, a *pontifex* and an *augur* respectively, e.g. Gaius and Lucius at Lugdunum, *BMC. Imp.*, I, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p.c.; and see above, Chapter II, section v.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *quadrantes* of Pulcher, Taurus, Regulus, *ibid.*, p. 40, no. 205. Sometimes other implements carry the same significance, e.g. tripod and *patra* (*BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 20, no. 98 and p. 24, no. 119), but the latter are attributed to 14 B.C. by Pink, *NZ*, 1946, p. 123. For sculptural representations of the high-priesthood of Augustus, cf. E. M. Marianecchi, *Notizie di Archeologia, Storia e Arte*, IV, 1941, 2, pp. 21 ff. (not seen).

<sup>12</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B.

<sup>13</sup> The *simpulum* seems to have been associated directly with the college of *pontifices* (Borghesi, *Oeuvres*, I, pp. 343 ff., III, pp. 428 ff., cf. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. cvi; Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup>, p. 501, is cautious), of which the *pontifex maximus* was head.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Gagé, *RH*, 1933, p. 37, *BMC. Rep.*, II, p. 459.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. *BMC. Rep.*, II, p. 560, no. 7 (posthumous, Sicily, c. 42-36 B.C.).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 542, no. 4135, etc.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1935, pp. 24 f., Gagé, *RH*, 1936, p. 341.

<sup>18</sup> *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 106, no. 650 (AEGVPTO CAPTA).

<sup>19</sup> On this see especially Liegle, *Hermes*, 1942, pp. 249 ff., cf. Hohl, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1943, pp. 621 f.



the reign of Augustus;<sup>20</sup> and colonies<sup>21</sup> and peregrine communities<sup>22</sup> followed suit. The *lituus* reminds us of his “Romulus” aspect,<sup>23</sup> for Virgil<sup>24</sup> and Ovid<sup>25</sup> both link the *lituus* with Quirinus.<sup>26</sup> Romulus was the originator of the auspices; and especially relevant to the present discussion is the obvious connection of this widely publicised emblem, through the college of augurs which it represented,<sup>27</sup> with the name of Augustus, the concept of *auctoritas*, and (by the false etymology that has been indicated<sup>28</sup>) the *auspicia principis*. This again suggests that the high-priesthood, in regard to which the *lituus* was stressed, was considered as not unconnected with the imperial *auspicia*.<sup>29</sup> This connection may in part account for the prominence of the *simpulum* and *lituus* on the colonial issue honouring Tiberius and L. Apronius (no. 20).<sup>30</sup>

Two conjectures, then, may be offered regarding the origin of the universal imperial auspices: first, that the doctrine came to be formulated in 20-19 B.C. in connection with the new triumphal cult, and secondly that its development was facilitated by Augustus’ acceptance, in 12 B.C., of the high-priesthood.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. *BMC. Imp.*, I, p. 20, no. 100, p. 113, no. 698 ff., *FITA*, p. 139.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. *FITA*, Plate VIII, 1 (Thapsus), 2 (Simitthu ?), p. 128 (Berytus).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate X, 15, 56, 61, 64, 72, etc.

<sup>23</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection B, p. 70.

<sup>24</sup> *Aen.*, VII, 187.

<sup>25</sup> *Fasti*, VI, 307.

<sup>26</sup> On the *lituus quirinalis* see Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*, p. 240, noting the connection with the *ancile* of Numa.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*<sup>2</sup>, p. 524 and n. 7, Gagé, *MAH*, 1930, pp. 164 ff., 1931, pp. 87 f., 93, 106 f., *RA*, XXXII, 1930, p. 30, *RH*, 1936, p. 341, Liégle, *Hermes*, 1942, p. 275.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 69.

<sup>29</sup> Later the *lituus* was used to distinguish emperors from their heirs (Gagé, *RH*, 1933, p. 17, cf. n. 2), but under Augustus, on what appears to be official *aes* of Africa, we find it accompanying the head of Tiberius but not that of Augustus, *FITA*, p. 139, no. 5, *RAI*, Plate I, 2: does this suggest that in the latter’s last years Tiberius was regarded as sharing the auspices, like so much else, with him?

<sup>30</sup> The *lituus* also occurs on Tiberian colonial coinage at Paestum (Plate I, 1, 2, 5).

## APPENDIX 12

### The Augustan origins of the Victory of Tiberius

CERTAIN coinages in honour of Tiberius' *vicennium* stress the theme of *Felicitas* which is so closely akin to that of *Victoria Augusti*.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore significant that the same issues also allude in unmistakable fashion to the current half-centenary of the Augustan *aureum saeculum* of 17 B.C.—just as the Paestan issues of Tiberius (Pl. I, 7-10) show a close link with the coinage of 16 B.C., of which a large part explicitly refers to the new *saeculum* (p. 73). It may well be that this new Golden Age, which was understood to have been made possible only by the victories of the *princeps*, witnessed a decisive stage in the development of the idea of *Victoria Augusti*; just as the crowning "victory" (20 B.C.), which shortly preceded the new *saeculum*, perhaps inspired a "Triumphal Cult" and enhancement of the imperial *auspicia*.<sup>2</sup>

Each *decennium* and *quinquennium* of the new régime of 27 B.C. was made the occasion for fresh propagandist manifestations<sup>3</sup>—17 B.C. (*saeculum aureum*), 12 B.C. (*pontifex maximus*), 7 B.C. (*vicennium*), and 2 B.C. (*pater patriae*),<sup>4</sup> are conspicuous examples. The assumption by Augustus of the high-priesthood in 12 B.C. may have had its effect on the imperial auspices;<sup>5</sup> and a fresh stage in the evolution of the *Victoria Augusti* may conceivably have been reached at a date not far from the *vicennium* of the régime in 7 B.C. For it was at this time that the worship of the *Genius Augusti* was first fully installed in Italy:<sup>6</sup> the *Genius* was very closely linked with the *Victoria Augusti*,<sup>7</sup> and there was a triumph of Tiberius in the same year, apparently accompanied by the issue at Rome of an unparalleled series of *aes* medallions emphasizing the Victory of the *princeps*.<sup>8</sup> The attribution to this date of a final enhancement of *Victoria*

<sup>1</sup> RAI, Chapter III, section ii; cf. above, Chapter II, section iii.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 11.

<sup>3</sup> RAI, Chapter II, section ii.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Chapter II, section i.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Nock, *CAH*, X, p. 480, Pippidi, *RCI*, p. 37, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gagé, *MAH*, 1932, p. 71, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> RAI, Chapter II, section ii, where this interpretation is preferred to Pink's attribution to 12 B.C.

*Augusti* would give additional meaning to another numismatic phenomenon attributed to about the same year. For it is to c. 7 B.C. also that we have ascribed the development of the *amicitia principis* illustrated by the earliest groups of African, and perhaps, also, Asian, proconsuls honoured on local coinage of the principate—the prototype of a similar phenomenon under Tiberius.<sup>9</sup> Was Augustus' enhancement of the cachet of *amicitia* intended, not only to close the ranks round the heirs to the principate, but also to serve as a consolation for the now evident monopoly of Victory (as of the auspices) in hands other than those of the proconsuls? But these are too clouded waters for further exploration here.

<sup>9</sup> See above, Chapter II, section ii, subsection A.



## List of some works cited

### Notes

(1) In list B, references to periodicals are usually followed by a brief allusion, within brackets, to the subject-matter. Unless this allusion is enclosed within inverted commas, it does not purport to give the title of the article, but refers only to the aspect to which the citation in the present study is due; this may or may not be the article's main subject. (2) The names of periodicals and of certain other works are here given in the form of abbreviations used also in the footnotes (see list of Abbreviations). (3) Words or letters following the sign (=) (e.g. *Inscriptiones Graecae* = IG) likewise represent abbreviations used in the footnotes and figuring in the list. (4) In list B, works more than one hundred years old are not included. (5) Writers' initials are only given where there would otherwise be likelihood of ambiguity.

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NOTE: The following reached me too late for consideration: Bersanetti, *Athenaeum*, 1947 ("Tiberiana"); Byvanck, *Mnemosyne*, 1947 (Paris cameo); Passerini, *Studi giuridici in memoria di P. Capessoni*, 1947 ("Per la Storia dell' Imperatore Tiberio"); de Visscher, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 5 sér., XXXV, 1949 ("La Table de Bronze de Magliano"); C. Koch, RE, XVIII, 4 (1949), 2430-2436, s.v. *Pax*.



## Addenda

p. ix and n. 10. The new arrangement of the coins of Carthago Nova by A. Beltrán, *Las Monedas Latinas de Cartagena*, though it contains some improvements on *FITA* (pp. 19, 39), includes certain unlikely chronological (pp. 49-53) and geographical attributions (pp. 21, 27, 29, 42:—I now agree that the coins described on pp. 27, 29 are Spanish, but I believe them to belong to other cities).

p. 17 (no. 49). The attribution to Cnossus is confirmed by the occurrence of specimens among Col. Cameron's coins from Crete, now in the British Museum, cf. G. K. Jenkins (*NC*, 1949), who has kindly sent me information about these acquisitions.

pp. 24, 155 f. The *argumenta a silentio* could be refuted by the discovery of sufficient unknown coins; but the interpretation of anniversary issues is not likely to be seriously upset in this way, cf. *RAI*, pp. xx f.

p. 39, lines 10 ff. This argument receives further support if A. Beltrán, loc. cit., p. 55, is right in regarding large issues of Carthago Nova (M. Postumius Albinus II, P. Turullius *quinq.*) as Tiberian rather than Augustan.

p. 52, n. 92. But the name of a High-Priest of Asia after the same preposition was eponymous—a permissible distinction, though it is questioned by Fink, *CP*, 1949, p. 256 (and why does he suppose that Augustus and Agrippa Postumus cannot both have been such High-Priests?).

p. 54, n. 111. This Livilla (or Livia or Livia Julia—probably not Claudia, as *RE*, 10, 1, 275, *Stammtafel*; d. A.D. 31) is wrongly described in *CAH*, X, Table I (p. 1058) as the daughter of Germanicus, who was Julia (or Livilla), d. A.D. 41. Zonaras, XI, 2, p. 550 c, refers to Sejanus' betrothal to a further Julia (d. A.D. 43), the daughter of the former Livilla and Drusus jun.; but this may be due to a confusion. (Furneaux, ed. Tac. *Annals*, vol. II, p. 495 [index] wrongly describes this third Julia as "Augusta.")

p. 68, lines 1 f.: "formal truth rather than concealed sanctions of force." For studying the former and yet including a passing reference to the latter (*FITA*, p. 443, cf. pp. 321, 418; unduly minimised by Sutherland, *JRS*, 1947, p. 212, Salmon, *Phoenix*, 1948, pp. 135 ff.), the present writer is charged by Fink, loc. cit., with "himself demolishing his whole elaborate

structure (sc. picture of the 'constitution') with his parenthetical concession." Surely not. A mailed fist could be, and was, concealed by a velvet glove. The two materials, each familiar today, were both regarded as indispensable, but for different reasons and purposes: if they are confused, the study of either will suffer. Cf. *Greece and Rome*, 1949, p. 97.

p. 69. For Verrius Flaccus as originator of both the quotations here (Fest. ap. Paul. Diac., and Suetonius), see W. M. Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina*, IV, p. 93; and as tutor to the grandsons of Augustus, Suet. *De Grammaticis*, 17. He also appears to have drawn up the *Fasti Praenestini*. It is highly probable that official policy should have followed his interpretations.

pp. 70 f., 167 f., cf. p. 45. On inscriptions referring to Claudius, the title *pontifex maximus* is stressed much more than any other, cf. M. Stuart, *The Portraiture of Claudius, Preliminary Studies*, p. 16, n. 110.

p. 86. *ILS*, 103, refers to the pacification of Baetica by Augustus *beneficio eius et perpetua cura*.

p. 136, n. 13. The Naples specimen, clearly genuine, is illustrated by Gabrici, *Ad Res Gestas Augusti Commentarius de Re Nummaria* (*Acta Divi Augusti*, I, 1945), Plate IX, no. 91.

coin no. 17. I learn through the kindness of Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland that the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has now acquired a specimen of this piece.

Appendix 2. A. Beltrán, *Crónica del I Congreso Nacional de Arqueología y del V Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste*, Almeria, 1949, p. 276, quotes a coin at Tetuan giving Tingis the title of *colonia Iulia*. I hope shortly to be able to discuss its date.

# Indices

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<sup>1</sup> This list follows the alphabetical order of gentile names, except in the cases of writers, imperial personages, and men of whose gentile names we do not know the initial letter.

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PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

PLATE I





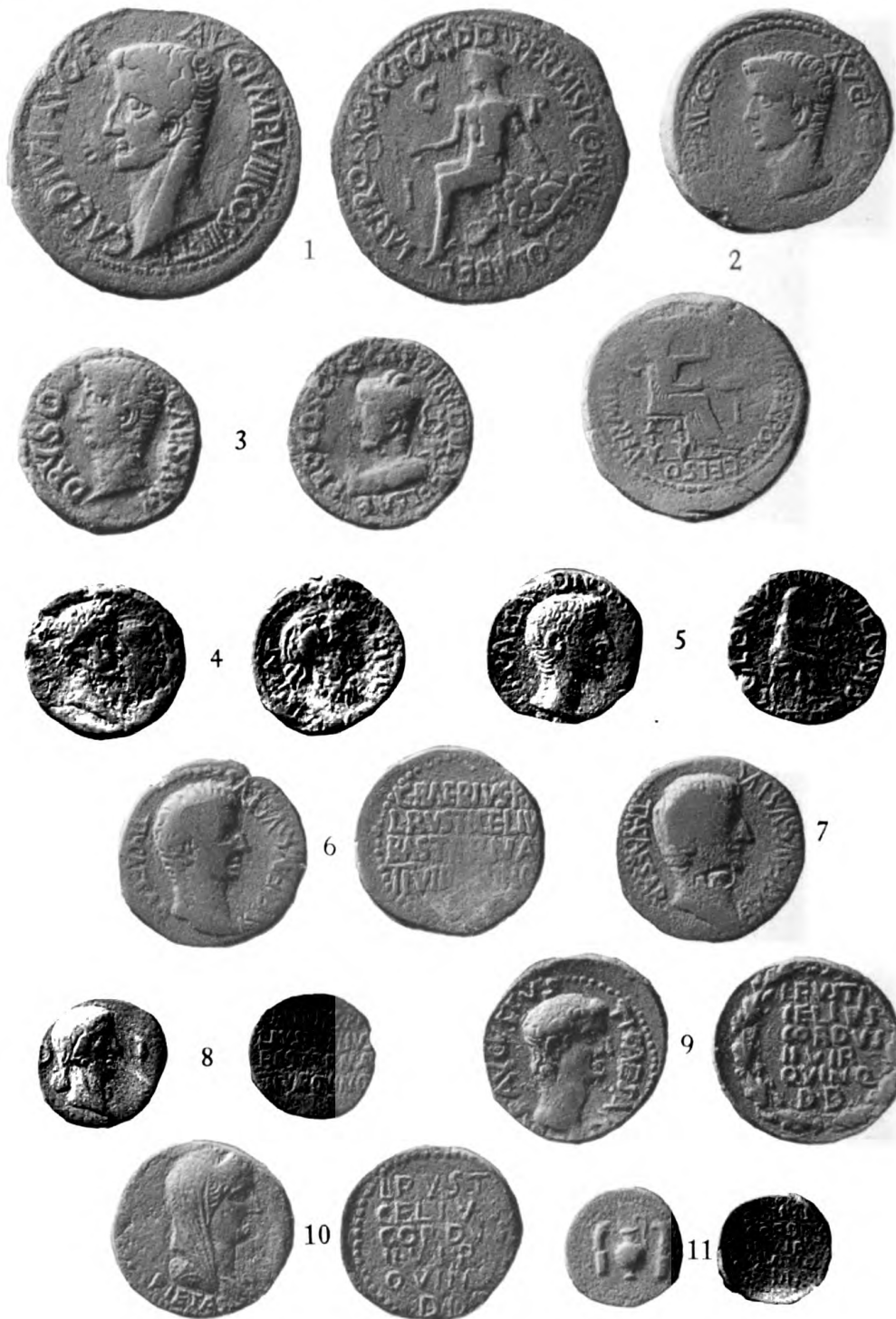
PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

PLATE III



PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

PLATE IV



PRINCIPATE OF TIBERIUS

PLATE V





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GOLD COINS OF KHOḡAND AND BUKHĀRĀ

# GOLD COINS OF KHOKAND AND BUKHĀRĀ

By CHARLES C. TORREY



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET

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## GOLD COINS OF KHOḠAND AND BUKHĀRĀ



## GOLD COINS OF KHOKAND AND BUKHĀRĀ

THE thirteen coins which are here described were collected in Central Asia many years ago, by the late Dr. Eugene Schuyler (1840-1890), diplomat and author.<sup>1</sup> Eventually put on sale, they came into the possession of the late Rev. William H. Owen of New York City, who presented them to Yale University shortly before his death, which occurred in May, 1944. Mr. Owen was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1897, and for several years prior to his death he had served as Curator of the University's Coin Collection.

The history of the acquisition of the little collection by its owner can be conjectured with some probability. In the year 1873 Dr. Schuyler, who at that time was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, made a journey through Central Asia to study the political and social condition of the regions which he visited. He had been U. S. Consul at Moscow in 1867-1869, and it was the Russian régime that he wished to examine. His itinerary took him through Tāshkent, Bukhārā, Samarkand, and Khokand, as well as into regions farther east. The fruit of his researches he published in an important work of two volumes entitled *Turkistan* (New York, 1876).

<sup>1</sup> See the account of his life and work in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XVI, pp. 471 f. Six other gold coins in the collection, dinars of the Ghaznavids, Khwārizmshahs and Mamlūks, being unrelated to the nineteenth-century coins described below, are omitted from consideration in the present article.

Schuyler was much interested in the later history of Khoḳand, which at the time of his stay there was in the last throes of its independent existence. Russia was descending on the province, and finally took possession of it in 1875. This was decidedly a change for the better, for ever since the year 1850 the whole region had been in turmoil, which grew steadily worse and seemed to give no prospect of improved conditions.

The legitimate khāns of this closing period were members of the family of Shēr 'Alī, who held the office from 1842 to 1845, the year of his death. Our collection contains seven coins, nos. 1-7, dated from the year 1273 A.H. (1856/1857 A.D.) to the year 1285 (1868/1869), thus covering six different reigns and representing the gold coinage of each of these, with one exception: the collection contains no specimen from the reign of the youth Sayyid Sultān, who held the throne in the turbulent years 1863-1865, and is known to have struck coins.

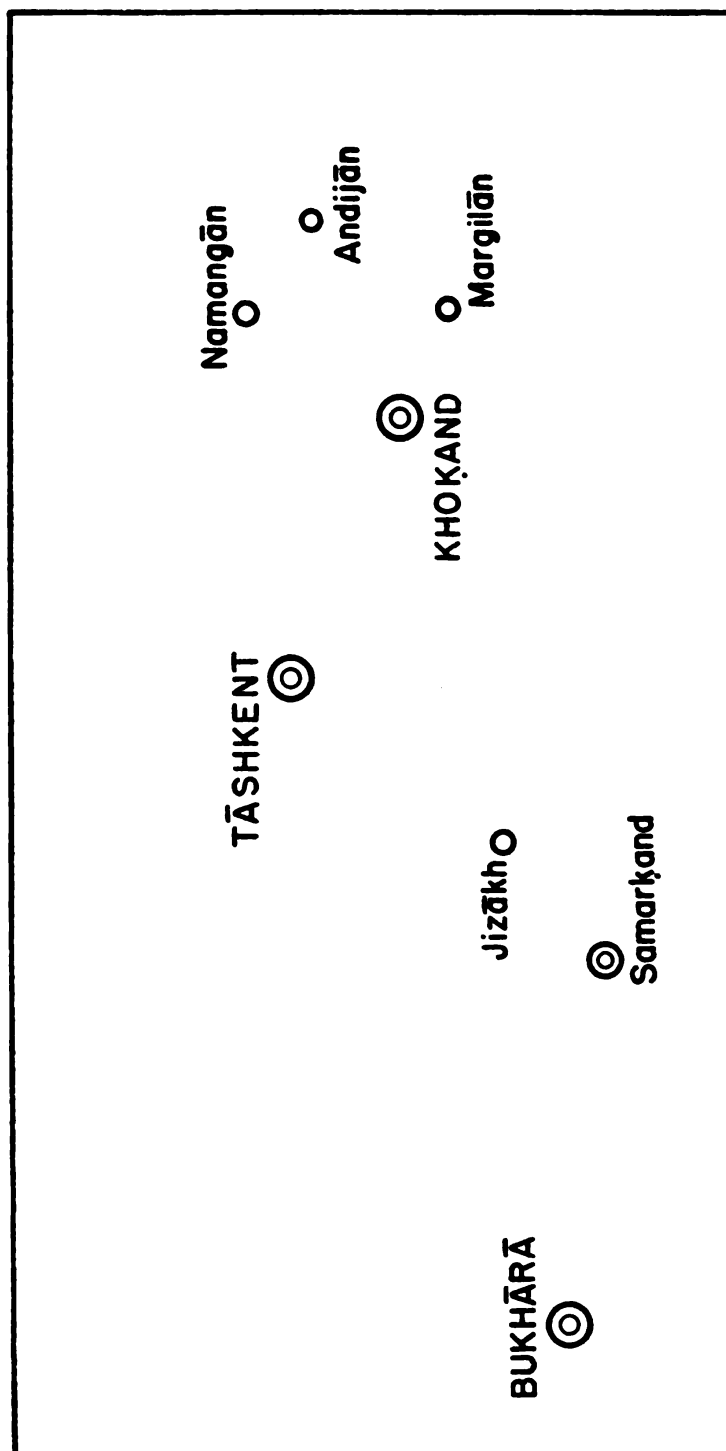
These gold pieces from the last years of the province constitute perhaps the most important part of the collection, both from the interest of the coins themselves—they are generally fine specimens—and also from the aid which they give in establishing the chronology of this confused period, in which the khānate changed hands rapidly and repeatedly. One of the khāns, who was twice driven out by rivals, each of whom struck his own gold coins, nevertheless fought his way to a third term, which is here twice represented.

Since the specimens of this part of the coinage of Khoḳand are somewhat rare in the west (they are doubtless very familiar in Russia), it may not be superfluous to present here a concise

sketch of the history of the reigns which are covered, in the hope of adding to the interest of the coins.

The following outline of events is chiefly made up from two main sources: 1. Nalivkine (Vladimir Petrovitch), *Histoire du Khanat de Khokand*, translated from the Russian by Auguste Dozon and published as Vol. IV of the Third Series of the publications of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, 1889; pp. viii, 272, with a map of the province and a table of the Khoḳandian genealogy. 2. Eugene Schuyler, "A Sketch of the History of Khokand in Recent Times," published as Appendix I in the first volume of his *Turkistan*, pp. 337-359, with a Genealogical Table of the Sovereigns of Khoḳand.

Other portions of Schuyler's narrative are occasionally drawn upon. He himself was in Khoḳand while the khānate was still in existence, and much of his information was obtained from eye-witnesses of the events which he describes (see I, 338, footnote 111). In Vol. II, pp. 1-60, he gives an interesting account of the province and the city of Khoḳand, incidentally including some characterization of Khudāyār Khān, three of whose coins are in our collection.





## THE KHĀNATE OF KHOĀND, 1850-1875

This Khānate was established about the year 1700. The eleventh khān in the succession was Shēr ʿAlī, who, as was said above, came to the throne in the year 1842. The chronology of the earlier reigns is very uncertain, and even in the later period with which we are now dealing, the dynasty of Shēr ʿAlī, differing dates are given by the authorities, as will be seen.

Shēr ʿAlī left five sons: by his first wife, Šārymsaq, then twenty-two years of age, Khudāyār, sixteen years, and Sultān Murād; by his second wife, Malla, seventeen years, and Sūfī. The chief adviser and minister of Shēr ʿAlī had been an official called Musulman Kūl, a man of great energy and ability, and he now took charge of affairs. As he was not on good terms with the eldest son, he decided to put the younger brother on the throne. Šārymsaq, who was in charge of Tāshkent, was formally summoned to Khoḳand, ostensibly to receive the throne, and on his way thither was murdered. On the following day his death was publicly announced and his brother Khudāyār was proclaimed Khān.

Up to the year 1850, when Khudāyār came of age, Musulman Kūl as regent had his own way in the administration of the province, but after that date the young ruler took affairs into his own hands. He was a man of some energy and great shrewdness, but he possessed few of the qualities desirable in a ruler.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A convincing portrait of Khudāyār, from about the year 1870, may be seen in Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. II, facing p. 25.

Though never popular, he always had powerful adherents. Before many years had elapsed, the province was in turmoil, and the Khān's ruthlessness had gained him bitter enemies. Musulman Kūl had been disposed of, but Khudāyār's half brother, Malla, who had been put in charge of Tāshkent, was a rival openly hostile and aiming at the throne.

In the summer of A.H. 1269 (1853), Khudāyār attacked his brother in Tāshkent, and Malla, defeated, fled to Bukhārā, where plots against Khoḳand always flourished. Here he was able to make great preparations. Near the middle of the year 1275 (1858/1859), Malla at the head of a strong force laid siege to Khoḳand. Khudāyār's sortie was ineffectual, and with his two younger brothers, Sultān Murād and Sūfī, he fled to Bukhārā, where Sūfī soon after died. Malla entered Khoḳand and was proclaimed Khān. He was liked by the people, and his reign seemed to begin under favorable auspices. Trouble soon arose, however, in the neighboring cities, and the Khān found himself in a difficult position. The province was in a ferment of unrest and dissatisfaction. Cities and tribes pressed their just claims, which could hardly be satisfied; Ālim Kūl, the Khān's chief adviser, paid them little attention. There was open revolt in more than one place. The disturbed situation at length gave to a few of the disaffected leaders the opportunity which they sought.

In the latter part of the year 1278 (March, 1862), the conspirators struck their blow. With a mob behind them, they managed to enter in the night the Khān's private apartments in the palace, and attacked him in his bed. He defended himself

bravely, but was soon overpowered and cut to pieces.<sup>3</sup> On the next day they proclaimed the new Khān whom they had chosen, the boy Shāh Murād, a son of Šārymsak and thus a nephew of Khudāyār, then about fifteen years old. The regent was ʿĀlim Kūl, who had been Malla's right-hand man.<sup>4</sup>

When Khudāyār fled to Bukhārā, as narrated above, he was well received there at first, but was not permitted to remain long in the city, nor even in Samarkand. The Amir finally assigned him to Jizākh, a strong fortress between Samarkand and Tāshkent. Here he lived in obscurity and poverty until, with his inveterate money-making ability, he managed to do a small trading business which could support him.

Khudāyār's adherents now lost no time. A deputation was sent to him at Jizākh, inviting him to come to Tāshkent, on the western border of the province of Khoḳand, to receive allegiance. He proceeded thither at once, with a company of some two hundred men, and was formally proclaimed Khān. The Amir of Bukhārā, who was always hoping to get a foothold in Khoḳand, promised to give him support.

When the news of these events reached the capital city, prompt measures were taken, and a sufficiently large army, with the young Khān at its head, marched on Tāshkent and besieged it. The city was well fortified, however, and after it had held out successfully for thirty-one days, news came to Shāh Murād that the Amir of Bukhārā with a large force was entering the province, and he was therefore obliged to raise the siege and hasten home.

<sup>3</sup> Schuyler, I, 92, gives the account of one who was in the palace at the time.

<sup>4</sup> On the revision of the chronology of these reigns, see below.

Khudāyār's following had increased in the meantime to such an extent that he was now able to advance on Khoḳand. The city was thrown into the utmost confusion, but in the end threw its gates open to its former Khān. ʿĀlim Kūl made a successful sortie at the head of about two thousand men and escaped. At the very beginning of the uproar Shāh Murād somehow managed to get out of the city without being noticed by anyone. The palace was found vacant, and there was nothing to show whither the young Khān had fled. His disappearance continued to be regarded as a mystery, but according to Schuyler's authorities, it was ascertained afterwards that Khudāyār had succeeded in capturing and murdering him.

Khudāyār now entered upon his second Khānate. This was in A.H. 1279 (1862). He had never been popular, and his brutality, especially his massacre of the Kiptchaks,<sup>5</sup> had made him a multitude of enemies. ʿĀlim Kūl took advantage of the situation so vigorously that he was soon in a position to challenge Khudāyār. The Amir had tired of the game and gone home with his army, after sending presents to ʿĀlim Kūl. (Both within the city and outside there were now two parties, and this state of things continued for about three years.) Battles were fought; at length the Khān's army was twice defeated, and Khudāyār was finally compelled to flee again to Bukhārā, whence he established himself in Jizākh, as before. ʿĀlim Kūl entered Khoḳand at the head of a considerable army composed mainly of Kiptchaks and Kirghiz tribesmen.

<sup>5</sup> A warlike tribe, inhabiting chiefly a region east of the city of Khoḳand. Khudāyār would have been glad to exterminate them (though his mother was a Kiptchak), and he is said to have butchered some "two thousand" of them.

Malla Khān had a son, Sayyid Sultān, who at the time of his father's murder was about thirteen years old. ʿĀlim Kūl had succeeded in getting him out of the palace before the conspirators could lay hands on him, and had brought him to Andijān, and soon after to Namengān. He now summoned the youth to Khoḳand, and gave him the title of Khān. This was in A.H. 1280 (July, 1863).

ʿĀlim Kūl, now the actual ruler, took the severest measures in the attempt to restore order in the disturbed province, and is said to have executed more than four thousand men who were accused of political offenses. A measure of quiet seemed to be achieved, but it was short-lived; discontent increased until the chief cities were sending invitations to Khudāyār to return and take the throne.

In the meantime the Russian armies were attacking the province, and as they advanced on Tāshkent, ʿĀlim Kūl led his army against them, but was defeated. He himself was severely wounded, and soon after died. Khudāyār had sent his brother Sultān Murād to the Amir of Bukhārā, asking for help at this favorable juncture, and the Amir responded by coming in person with an army. Khudāyār was making his preparations for a joint expedition when the news of ʿĀlim Kūl's death reached him. The Amir, with the permission of the Russians, now entered Khoḳand with an imposing force including two elephants, and established Khudāyār in the Khānate for a third term. This was in A.H. 1282 (1865).

The youth Sayyid Sultān, the nominal ruler, who was not in Khoḳand at the time, was soon apprehended and executed.

Coins had been struck in his name, and the British Museum has a gold dinar dated 1280. Our collection possesses no specimen.

Though Khudāyār was cordially disliked by the people, they for some time submitted to his rule for fear of Russian intervention. He robbed the province systematically and thoroughly for the benefit of his private fortune, and by several acts of brutality he enraged especially the tribesmen. When at length the inevitable plots and insurrections came, they were formidable. In A.H. 1292 (1875) Khudāyār was once more obliged to flee from the capital city, this time taking his vast treasure with him. He made his way to Tāshkent, where he was favorably received by the Russians, who ultimately permitted him to reside in Orenburg. His eldest son, Nāṣiraddīn, was made Khān, but he held the title for only a short time, and appears to have issued no coinage. Permitting himself to be involved in a war against the Russians, he was deposed by them in the year 1293 (1876), and the province of Khoḳand was annexed by Russia under the name Ferghana.\*

For a concise chronology of the Khānate, including some mention of the coinage, see E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*; Hanovre, 1927, p. 276. For the coins and their history, specifically, see Lane-Poole's *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. VII (1882), pp. xxiii f., 86-95; Vol. X (1890), pp. 173 f.

\* The situation as regards the Russians, in the closing years of the province's independent existence, is clearly set forth in Schuyler's *Turkistan*, Vol. II, pp. 278 ff.

The chronology of the last seven reigns in the Khānate of Khoḳand is thus the following, the years given first according to the Mohammedan reckoning:

	A.H.	A.D.
Muḥammad Khudāyār	1261 <sup>7</sup>	1845
Malla	1275	1858-59
Shāh Murād	1278	1861-62
Khudāyār, 2nd reign	1279	1862-63
Sayyid Sulṭān	1280	1863-64
Khudāyār, 3rd reign	1282	1865-66
Nāṣiraddīn	1292 <sup>8</sup>	1875

This table will be found to differ considerably from those given in Zambaur and in the British Museum Catalogue. The discrepancy in the dates amounts to two years in several cases, and in one case to three years.

After Khudāyār had been deposed by the Russians, a rebel, Muḥammad Fūlād, established himself in Khoḳand and struck his own coins. This was first made known to numismatists by a dinar in the British Museum dated 1288; see B.M.C. VII, p. 95 and footnote, and Pl. V, no. 239. Other examples eventually came to light, and in B.M.C. X, containing the Additions to Vol. VII, dinars of this rebel dated 1276, 1278, and 1290 are listed, see

<sup>7</sup> This was the accession year, but he was then a minor; until 1266/1850, when he came of age, affairs were in the hands of the regent, Musulman Kūl.

<sup>8</sup> He was deposed in 1293/1876.

page 174. The collection of the American Numismatic Society possesses dinars of the years 1275 (two), 1276, and 1277.<sup>9</sup>

Thus far, only the coinage of Khoḳand has been considered. Of the remainder of the collection, seven of the pieces are coins of Bukhārā, mostly of the thirteenth century A.H., and presumably all circulating in that region at the time of Dr. Schuyler's stay there.

The history of the acquisition and preservation of these gold coins, combined with the fact that Schuyler was a graduate of Yale in 1859 and Ph.D. in 1861, makes it suitable that they should be given separate publication as a unit of the Yale Collection.

<sup>9</sup> On the coin first mentioned, above, B.M.C. VII, no. 239, the name of the would-be ruler appeared to be given as Muḥammad Malla; but in Vol. X, p. 174, footnote, it was shown that the indistinct characters are to be read as "Beg," rather than "Malla." The name Fūlād appears on the silver coin, p. 173 and Pl. XXXII.



## KHANS OF KHOḠAND

### 1. Khudāyār Khān, 1273 A.H.

#### OBVERSE.

Area, ornamental border between double circles.

لطيف  
خوقند  
١٢ ٧٣  
السلطنة  
ضرب دار

#### REVERSE.

Area, with same border between double circles,

خدايار  
سيد  
١٢ ٧٣  
خان

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.51 grms.

This coin, dated 1273, is from the first of Khudāyār's three reigns; see the historical introduction. B.M.C. VII has dinars of this reign for every year from 1260 to 1266 (nos. 228 to 237), but only one, year 1272, after the last-named date. See Pl. V, no. 228, and Vol. X, p. 173. These were just the years in which the regent Musulman

Kūl was in charge of the affairs of state in Khoḡand. How it happened that he struck a dinar in the name of the boy Khudāyār in 1260, though the latter was proclaimed Khān in 1261, is not quite clear; see B.M.C. VII, 91, footnote. The American Numismatic Society has two dinars of this first reign, dated 1272 and 1274.

The coins of the Khānate of Khoḡand are a fine series, choice in style and well executed, closely resembling those of the Mangits of Bukhārā, as would be expected.

## 2. Khudāyār Khān, 1275 A.H.

### OBVERSE.

Area, with same ornamental border as in No. 1,

٦٩  
لطف  
خوقند  
١٢  
السلطنة  
ضرب دار

**REVERSE.**

Area, with same border,

خدايار  
سيد  
٧٥  
خان ١٢

Pl. A', Wt. 3.99 grms.

A second coin of Khudāyār's first reign, which ended in this year 1275 A.H. (1857/1858 A.D.). The obverse is plainly dated 1269, with the use of a die formerly employed, the date being just halfway between the latest date (1266) in the British Museum and the earliest (1272) in the American Numismatic Society's collection.

3. Malla Khān, 1275 A.H.

**OBVERSE.**

Area, with border enclosing a double circle,

لطيف  
قند  
٧  
خو ١٢٥  
السلطنة  
دار  
ضرب

## REVERSE.

Area, with twisted-rope border between circles and enclosing an ornamental band,

ن  
ملة ۲ خا ۱  
محمد  
سید  
۷۵  
بہادر

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.43 grms.

Very few coins of Malla are known. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 276, knew of one specimen, presumably in Russia. B.M.C. and A.N.S. have none. Our collection possesses two, each a fine example almost in mint state.

The innovation in the style of these dinars is worthy of especial notice. The gay addition to the standard design, and the exuberance of ornamentation, can hardly fail to be understood as reflecting the circumstances of the time, the auspicious beginning of Malla's reign, which nevertheless had such a speedy and terrible ending. Khokand had been in high spirits.

In No. 3, the obverse border is like that in No. 9, four-pronged stars separated by pairs of dots in upright line. Reverse has the twisted-rope border, and around the inscription, within the inner circle, is an ornamental band with a tassel.

4. Malla Khān, 1276 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with a leafy border, an elaboration of the border in Nos. 1 and 2; outside the border, a circle, a row of large dots, a row of small dots; inside the border, a double circle with connecting cross-bars,

۷۶  
۱۲  
لطیف  
قند خو  
لسلطنة  
ضرب دارا

REVERSE.

Area, with border as on the obverse; inside the border a double circle ending in a leafy branch, like the ornamental band in No. 3,

ن  
د  
بهارخا  
سید  
۱۲۷  
۶  
محمد ملة

Pl. A, Wt. 4.47 grms.

See the preceding number, on the special features of these beautiful coins of Malla. The "gay addition" there described is here also present, though in another even more attractive form.

To be noted is the remarkable position of the two widely separated parts of the name Khoḳand.

5. Shāh Murād, 1278 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with leaf border surrounding a double circle,

۷۸  
لطف  
۱۲  
خو قند  
لسلطنة  
ضرب دارا

REVERSE.

Area, with floral border enclosing a double circle and surrounded by a circle and a ring of dots,

شاه مراد  
سید  
۱۲ ۷۸  
لمسلمین  
امیرا

Pl. *AV*, Wt. 4.45 grms.

The boy Shāh Murād, who reigned but a few months and soon thereafter was murdered, had his coinage, of which at least one specimen has survived. The dinar in our collection is a fine example, rubbed on the borders, but with the inscriptions in perfect condition. The innovation made in the Malla coinage is discarded, and it never again appears.

Zambaur, *Manuel*, knew of no coin of this reign, and none are mentioned in B.M.C., nor are there any in the A.N.S. The date hitherto given is incorrect.

6. Khudāyār Khān, 1283 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with border of stars and crosses enclosing a double circle,

۱۲۳  
۸  
لطیف  
خو قند  
لسلطنة  
ضرب دارا

## REVERSE.

Area, with border of stars, leaves, and groups of dots, between two double circles, with ring of dots outside,

خدايار  
۱۲۳  
۸  
محمد خان  
سيد

Pl. A', Wt. 4.47 grms.

This is of Khudāyār's *third* reign, which began in 1282 A.H. (1865 A.D.) and continued until 1292, when he was driven out by his own people. Our collection has two coins of this reign, the one here described dated 1283, and another dated 1285. Zambaur recorded one example.

Khudāyār's *second* reign, which began in 1279 (summer of 1862 A.D.) lasted hardly a year; Zambaur knew of one coin from it.

The reign of the youth Sayyid Sultān, son of Malla, who was put on the throne in 1280 (in July, 1863), is represented by at least two coins which have been preserved, one mentioned by Zambaur, the other in the British Museum, see B.M.C. VII, 94, with Pl. V, no. 238.

Our No. 6 is in fine condition. Obverse has a border of six-pronged stars alternating with St. Andrew crosses. Outside this is a border of dots. Reverse's border alternates stars and leaves (?) with rosettes. Outside is a double circle and then a row of dots.



7. Khudāyār Khān, 1285 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with same border, etc., as on the Obverse of No. 6,

۱۲۵  
۸  
لطیف  
خو قند  
لسلطنة  
ضرب دارا

REVERSE.

Area, with same border, etc., as on the Reverse of No. 6,

خدایار  
۱۲۸۳  
۵  
محمد خان  
سید

Pl. A, Wt. 4.44 grms.

See the description in the preceding number. This dinar closely resembles No. 6 in all respects. For the reverse a die of the year 1283 was employed, and consequently two dates can be read. The arrangement of the numerals, in both obverse and reverse, is almost exactly the same on the two coins.

## 8. Jānid Dynasty, Abū'l-Ghāzī, no mint or date.

## OBVERSE.

Area, with a border of dots between two circles,

لا اله الا الله  
محمد  
رسول الله

## REVERSE.

Area, with a border of double scollops outside a ring,

سيد  
بها درخان  
محمد  
ابوالغازي

Pl. *A*, Wt. 4.59 grms.

The obverse has a margin of dots between two circles. The reverse has an elaborate margin.

This Abū'l-Ghāzī (regn. 1171-1200) was the last of the Jānid line of the Astrakhānids (Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, pp. 274 f.). From the time of 'Abd al-Mu'min onward (1160 A.H.=1747 A.D.) the Jānid rulers were such only in name, for the prime ministers held all the power and soon founded their own Mangit Dynasty. See Schuyler, *Turkistan*, I, 383 ff., and the footnote in B.M.C. VII, 74. The last of the Mangit ministers to hold the authority without

ever assuming the titles of sovereignty was the Amīr Dāniyāl, who let Abū'l-Ghāzī rule as Khān.

On the death of Dāniyāl (1185 A.H.), he was succeeded by his son, the Amīr Ma'sūm, who in the year 1200 took the throne with the title Shāh Murād. According to B.M.C. (*ibid.*), 1200 was the year of Abū'l-Ghāzī's *death*, but this appears to be a mistake. Schuyler, I, 385, puts the date of his death "not earlier than 1796" (1210-11 A.H.); and, in addition, we hear of a coin of Abū'l-Ghāzī in Russia (The Hermitage) dated 1201, see below. According to Schuyler, Shāh Murād did not himself have the title of Khān, though ruling in his own name and with a royal title.

For comparison with our dinar of Abū'l-Ghāzī, see B.M.C. VII, 72, no. 171, and the facsimile on Plate V (Abū'l-Faiḍ, commonly written as Abū'l-Feiz); also Vol. X, 171<sup>m</sup>, and the facsimile on Plate XXXII ('Abd al-Mu'min). A.N.S. possesses two dinars of Abū'l-Feiz, dated 1138 and 1158. Abū'l-Ghāzī "was the son of a cousin german of Abul-Feiz" (Schuyler, I, 383).

The testimony of coins of this last ruler of the Jānid line had apparently been doubted, for Schuyler insists (*ibid.*, p. 384): "We have a coin of this Khān with the date of 1200 A.H. . . . it has been described more than seventy years." "We" presumably means "we in Russia," and there is good reason for believing that another reference to this same coin has been preserved.

In Fraehn's *Recensio numorum Muhammedanorum*, St. Petersburg, 1826, p. 443, there is listed a coin of Abū'l-Ghāzī dated 1200. In his *Nova supplementa* (1855), p. 131, there is one with the date 1199.

In the Markov *Inventory*, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 707, three more coins of this Jānid ruler are mentioned: No. 37, no mint, year 1181; No. 38, no mint, year 1194; No. 42, *Bukhārā*, year 1201 (!).

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July, 1911, p. 784, an article by Dr. O. Codrington describes a number of coins collected in Seistan by Sir A. Henry McMahon; and among them is a dinar of Abū'l-Ghāzī. See the accompanying Plate, coin no. 11.

9. Mangit Dynasty, Maṣṣūmī Line. Struck by Ḥaidar, Bukhārā, 1233 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with ornamental border between circles,

شریف  
۱۲۳۲ ی  
ضرب بخارا

REVERSE.

Area, with ornamental border between circles,

غازی  
معصوم  
۱۲۳۳  
امیردانیال

Observe that the dates differ, as frequently happens; see B.M.C. VII, Introduction, p. xl.

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.53 grms.

With this coin compare B.M.C. VII, p. 79, no. 184, which re-

sembles it very closely. Cf. also in the plates of this volume Pl. V, 179 (date 1230), 188 (date 1235). In this case the reverse has the actual date of the coin, as commonly happens; see however the next following dinar in our series.

Ḥaidar (1215-1242 A.H.), son of Amīr Maʿšūm, puts on many of his coins the names of his father and grandfather (Amīr Dāniyāl). On this dynasty and its coinage see B.M.C. VII, Introduction, pp. xvii-xxiii, xxxviii-xli.

The ornamental border of No. 9 is described above, in the note on No. 3.

10. Mangit Dynasty. Struck by Ḥaidar, Bukhārā, 1236 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area (border as in No. 9),

شريف  
ي ١٢٣٦  
ضرب بخارا

REVERSE.

Area (border as in No. 9),

غازي  
معصوم  
١٢٣٥  
رحمت بادير

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.51 grms.

Coin somewhat rubbed, not as perfectly preserved as the preceding specimens. Cf. B.M.C. VII, Pl. V, 188, which is the same except for the date on obverse. As was remarked above, this is a case in which obverse has the true date, while reverse has that of a former coinage. See however B.M.C. no. 189, which is our coin with the dates reversed!

The border of No. 10 is an elaborate variation of the border of No. 9.

11. Mangit Dynasty. Struck by Naṣr Allāh, Bukhārā, 1244 A.H.

**OBVERSE.**

Area, with border of a wreath between two circles,

شريف  
ی ۱۲۴۴  
ضرب بخارا

**REVERSE.**

Area, with border as in Obv., and circle of dots outside,

غازی  
معصوم  
۱۲۴۴  
رحمت بادبر

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.53 grms.

Naṣr Allāh (1242-1277 A.H.), the third son of Ḥaidar, struck coins bearing the same simple inscriptions as those issued by his father. The present specimen is a fine example of the coinage, with the pleasing Persian style of the inscriptions and the characteristic ornamentation. In all the Mangit dinars here shown, the ring enclosing the area is a double ring, and the vacant spaces are occupied by clusters of small dots. In both this coin and the preceding (No. 10) a small anchor-shaped ornament appears at the left, both above and below the long horizontal letter *yā*.

With this coin compare B.M.C. VII, no. 196, which would seem to be its duplicate.

12. Mangit Dynasty. Struck by Naṣr Allāh, Bukhārā, 1257 A.H.

OBVERSE.

Area, with border like that on No. 9,

شریف  
۱۲۵۷ ی  
ضرب بخارا

## REVERSE.

Area, with border of dotted guilloche between circles,

غازى  
معصوم  
١٢٥٧  
رحمت بادير

*A*, Wt. 4.55 grms.

Compare B.M.C. VII, 84, no. 207, which agrees in all respects.

۱۳. Mangit Dynasty, Muẓaffar ad-Dīn, Bukhārā, ۱۲۸۵ A.H.

## OBVERSE.

Area, the border indistinct,

شريف  
ى ۱۲۸۵  
ضرب بخارا



**REVERSE.**

Area, the border indistinct,

غازی  
معصوم  
۱۲۸۵  
رحمت بادیر

The last two figures of the date on the rev. are hardly legible.

Pl. A/, Wt. 4.54 grms.

Muẓaffar ad-Dīn, son of Naṣr Allāh, took the throne in 1277 A.H. (1860 A.D.), and held it until he became tributary to the Russians in the campaign of 1284 (1868 A.D.).

This dinar, dated 1285, was struck in the same year in which the Russians took possession of the province.

Both obverse and reverse have the dotted-rope (guilloche) border, but very little of it can be seen. The coin is badly rubbed. The date on reverse can hardly be made out with certainty; it might even be read as 1278.

Coins continued to be struck after the province became tributary to Russia. B.M.C. VII, no. 215, is dated 1294; the American Numismatic Society has dinars of 1289 and 1296.



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AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, ~~NEW YORK~~  
NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 118

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

By GEORGE C. MILES



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1950

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# *Rare Islamic Coins*

By GEORGE C. MILES

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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET

NEW YORK

1950

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## FOREWORD

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no. 117

THIS is the first of a projected series of contributions in which it is proposed to describe inedited and rare Islamic coins for the most part in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. To these have been added notable rarities in other public and private collections to which I have had access. Among the latter is the fine unpublished collection formed in Egypt by Yacoub Artin Bey in the late nineteenth century, acquired by Robert C. H. Brock in 1902 and presented by him to the University of Pennsylvania Museum,<sup>1</sup> whose authorities have generously placed the collection on temporary loan with the American Numismatic Society for purposes of publication.

A complete catalogue of all the Islamic coins in, for example, the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, is certainly desirable, but even if the prohibitive expense could be met, such a catalogue would involve the needless duplication of a very large amount of material that is already well known; both the cost to the publisher and the effort on the part of the editor would be scarcely commensurate with the benefits gained. But the advantages of publishing the rare coins in this and other collections systematically, beginning with the earliest Muslim issues and proceeding in as nearly chronological order as possible down through the successive dynasties of Islam, need scarcely be argued. Each rare coin has something to add, sometimes trivial, sometimes quite significant, to our knowledge of Islamic numismatics, history and geography. The orderly presentation of this material should facilitate the eventual compilation of a complete corpus of the coinages of each of the numerous Islamic dynasties, a gigantic undertaking, needless to say, and one which, in spite of the already great mass of edited coins, must still await the detailed description of the rarities in many large and important collections.

<sup>1</sup> The Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid dinars in this collection have been published in an article in *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, III (1948), "Some Early Arab Dinars," pp. 93-114.

[ v ]

## RARE ISLAMIC COINS

In determining "rarity" I have been liberal: that is, I have included some pieces which have been published before and some which may have been edited, because I have borne in mind the inaccessibility to most readers of many out-of-the-way publications, and (for me) the disproportionately unrewarding labor involved in discovering whether a given issue has or has not been published in the vast and often obscure numismatic literature. Thus, while I have checked each specimen against the descriptions in a very considerable number of books, catalogues and articles, each search has by no means been exhaustive.

The present volume deals with rarities in the three earliest divisions of Islamic numismatics: I. *The Pre-Reform Coinage*, including the Sassanian and Byzantine imitations. This section straddles the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods, for the early Muslim coins of Bukhārā and Ṭabaristān are in the Sassanian tradition. II. *The Post-Reform Umayyad Coinage*, beginning with the earliest dinars and dirhams of the purely Arab type, after the reform of 'Abd al-Malik, and continuing down to the end of the dynasty in 132 A.H. (750 A.D.). III. *The 'Abbāsid Coinage*, from 132 A.H. to 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.). Subsequent volumes will deal with the dynasties which evolved during the course of the decline of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and with the later Islamic empires, kingdoms and principalities in both the East and the West.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- AGW=George C. Miles, *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*, The American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 111, New York, 1948.
- ANS=The Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York.
- Berlin=Heinrich Nützel, *Katalog der Orientalischen Münzen*, I: *Die Münzen der Östlichen Chalifen* (Königliche Museen zu Berlin), Berlin, 1898.
- BM=(in Section I) John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (British Museum), London, 1941.  
(in Sections II and III) Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875-1890.
- Casanova=P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies Musulmanes de S.A. la Princesse Ismaïl*, Paris, 1896.
- Constantinople=Ismā'il Ghālib, *Müze-yi-Humāyūn, Meskūkāt-i-Qadīmeh-i-Islāmiyyeh Qatalōghı*, Qusantīniyyah, 1312.
- Dorn, *Nova Supplementa*=B. Dorn, *Nova Supplementa ad Recensionem numorum Muhammedanorum*, Acad. Imp. Scient. Petropolit. Additamentis editoris aucta, St. Petersburg, 1855.
- E. of I.=Encyclopaedia of Islām.
- GCM=the author's collection.
- Ibn-al-Athīr=*Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867-1874.
- Ibn-Khaldūn=*Kitāb al-'Ibar*, ed. Būlāq, 1284 A.H.
- Ibn-Khallikān=*Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. de Slane, Paris, 1838; transl., de Slane, Paris & London, 1843-1871.
- JNSI=Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
- JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Khedivial Library=Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, London, 1897.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

- Le Strange, *Lands*—G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930.
- Le Strange, *Palestine*—Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890.
- Markov—A. Markov, *Inventarnii Katalog Musulmanskih Monet*, St. Petersburg, 1896.
- Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*—*Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard & Pavet de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'Or*, Paris 1861-1877.
- MMA—Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York.
- NC—Numismatic Chronicle, London.
- NHR—George C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1938. (Numismatic Studies No. 2).
- NNA—Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift.
- NZ—Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien.
- Østrup—J. Østrup, *Catalogue des Monnaies Arabes et Turques du Cabinet Royal des Médailles du Musée National de Copenhague*, Copenhagen, 1938.
- Paris—Henri Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, Paris, 1887.
- RA—Revue Archéologique.
- Recensio—C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg, 1826.
- RN—Revue Numismatique, Paris.
- RNB—Revue de la Numismatique Belge.
- Ṭabari—Al-Ṭabari, *Tar'ikh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. de Geoe *et al.*, Leyden, 1879-1901.
- Ties.—W. Tiesenhausen, *Moneti vostochnavo Khalifata*, St. Petersburg, 1873.
- Tornberg—C. J. Tornberg, *Numi Cufici Regii Numophylacii Holmiensis*, Upsalla, 1848.
- Tornberg, *Symbolae IV*—C. J. Tornberg, *Symbolae ad rem numariam Muhammedanorum ex Museo regio Holmiensi* (Nova Acta Reg. Soc. Scient. Upsaliensis, ser. III, vol. IV), Uppsala, 1862.

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RARE ISLAMIC COINS

UM=Collection of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; formerly Yacoub Artin Bey Collection.  
*Yāqūt*=*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1870.  
Zambaur, *Manuel*=E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hannover, 1927.  
ZDMG=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
*Z. für N.*=Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin.




## I. THE PRE-REFORM COINAGE

### A. ARAB-SASSANIAN

Of approximately 150 Arab-Sassanian coins in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, fifty-seven have been published in John Walker's admirable *Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (British Museum, London, 1941).<sup>2</sup> Except in one or two instances where I have felt that some minor emendation is necessary I have omitted reference to these published specimens in the following pages. They may be easily found in Walker's catalogue, designated "ETN" or "ANS". The vast majority of Mr. Newell's collection has been incorporated with that of the Museum to which he devoted so many years of his life. In the present publication I have included specimens from the ANS and other collections unknown to Walker. For the most part they are minor varieties of published pieces, but a few are unique or quite unusual. With some exceptions I make no mention of specimens identical with those appearing in the *BM* catalogue.

ANONYMOUS, WITH THE NAME OF KHUSRAU II

#### 1. Year 30. *Dārābjird*.

A clipped specimen similar to *BM* No. 15 (p. 10), except that the obverse marginal legend, although obscure due to wear, appears not to be defective. Walker reads the mint signature  as DR.<sup>3</sup> I would suggest the more apparent reading DP, a quite logical abbreviation, especially in view of the existing variant DAP.<sup>4</sup>

ⲁ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 2.72gm.

PLATE I


<sup>2</sup> Referred to in this section of the present volume simply as *BM*. In the sections dealing with the post-reform Umayyad coinage and the 'Abbāsīd coinage, the abbreviation *BM* refers to the pertinent volume of Lane-Poole's *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. Walker's catalogue is definitive, or as nearly so as one can wish, and is a delight to use. Among many other virtues, his exhaustive handling of all previously published Arab-Sassanian coins spares the student the laborious searching, to which I have referred in the foreword, usually incident to publishing "rare and inedited" coins. In consequence I have by and large been content to refer only to this work; all other pertinent references can be found there.

<sup>3</sup> *BM*, pp. ciii and cxvi.

<sup>4</sup> F. D. J. Paruck ("Mint-marks on Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian Coins," in *JNSI*, VI,



# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

## 2. Year 30. *Nihāwand*.

Similar to *BM* No. RB. 2 (p. 10), with the following exceptions: the mint signature is  (*BM* signature No. 43a), and the star and crescent on the rev. are reversed, *i.e.*, star l. and crescent r. of flame.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 30mm., 3.69gm.  
PLATE I

## 3. Year 41. *Dārābjird*.

Cf. *BM* No. I. 9 (p. 17), probably identical, but it is not illustrated and the obv. margin is not described. The present specimen has: crescent over l. shoulder, breast-ornament ••, and margin,  بسم الله .



℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 29mm., 3.30gm.  
PLATE I

## 4. Year 45. *Sistān*.

Identical with *BM* No. Th. 2 (p. 18). I reproduce this specimen because it confirms Walker's reading of the date, which in the Thorburn Collection is "faint, but almost certainly" 45.

℞. GCM (Bombay, 1946). 32mm., 4.08gm.  
PLATE I

## 5. Year 43(?). *Sistān*.

Similar to the above except in the following particulars: no breast-ornament; legend in first quarter ; date . The date is to me a puzzle. With great hesitation I suggest JHLSIH.

℞. GCM (Bombay, 1946). 32mm., 4.01gm.  
PLATE I


## 6. Year 44(?). *Sistān*.

Similar to No. 5 above, except in the following particulars: breast-

---


1944, p. 105) read DP and made the vague suggestion that the mint might be "located in the vicinity of the district of Dārābgard." I agree with Walker in assigning *BM* mint-marks Nos. 17-22 to Dārābjird, and in general with his consolidation of variants. The number of separate mints hypothesized by such writers as Paruck and de Morgan is fantastic.

# ARAB-SASSANIAN

ornament ••; date . This date also is very curious and I submit JHLJR with much reserve.

℞. GCM (Bombay, 1946). 32mm., 3.91grm.

PLATE I

The legend  in the first quarter of the margin of these coins<sup>5</sup> appears to me to be MZD, Pahlevi *mizd*, "Lohn"=Persian مزد, *mizd*, *muzd*, "reward, premium, salary, wages, hire," probably in the sense of "valid currency."<sup>6</sup> On Nos. 5 and 6 the final letter is more clearly written than on No. 4 and the Thorburn specimen of the year 45.


## 7. Year 48. Bishāpūr.

Similar to *BM* No. 25 (p. 19), but no countermark, obverse margin correctly written, and slight variation in the epigraphy of the date.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.), 32mm., 3.47grm.

PLATE I

## 8. Year 48. Bishāpūr.

Similar to above, but countermark  (similar to *BM* countermark No. 11?) in second quarter of obverse over beginning of Arabic legend.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33mm., 3.93grm.

PLATE I

## 9. Year 50. Bishāpūr.

Three specimens similar to *BM* No. 33 (p. 21), but with minor variations in the epigraphy of the date and mint.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33, 31, 30mm. 3.89, 3.26, 3.38grm.

## 10. Year 50(?). Bishāpūr.

Similar to the above except in the following particulars: ear-

<sup>5</sup> In the *BM* catalogue the only occurrence of this legend is on the Thorburn specimen.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, I (Uppsala, 1928), p. 53, II (Uppsala, 1931), p. 152; Steingass, s.v.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

ornament ❖, obverse margin ﴿﴾ ربي ﴿﴾ (pellet, if any, under star and crescent at bottom, clipped); date somewhat obscure.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 28mm., 2.75grm.

PLATE I

## Governors

‘Abdullāh b. Zubayr

11. *Dārābjird*. Year 53=65 A.H.=684/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* Nos. ANS 7 and 8 (p. 33), except: breast-ornament clearly ❖; star l., nothing r. of crown; minor difference in epigraphy of date; and in fourth quarter of reverse ﴿﴾.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 31mm., 3.81grm.

PLATE II

12. *Kirmān*. Year 67 A.H.=686/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 48 (p. 35). On the present specimen as well as on that in the *BM* the third letter of the Pahlevi legend in the obverse margin appears to me to be (with the letter following) ل, not as transcribed in the description of *BM* No. 48. The same observation applies to *BM* No. 206 (p. 103).

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 31mm., 4.02grm.

PLATE II

Ziyād b. abi-Sufyān

13. *Bishāpūr*. Year 52 A.H.=672 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. ANS 9 (p. 38), but with a minor difference in the epigraphy of the date, and no countermark.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33mm., 3.74grm.

PLATE II

‘Abdullāh b. ‘Āmir

14. *Bishāpūr*. Year 44 A.H.=664/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 68 (p. 47), but the breast-ornament is clearly ••, and there is no additional pellet on the neck.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28mm., 2.76grm.

PLATE II

[ 4 ]



ARAB-SASSANIAN

‘Ubaydullāh b. Ziyād

15. *Başrah*. Year 58 A.H.=677/8 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 80 (p. 58) (not illustrated), that is if the epigraphy of the date is the same.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28mm., 3.36grm.  
PLATE II

16. *Başrah*. Year 60 A.H.=679/80 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 83 (p. 58), but date written 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 32mm., 4.28grm.

Walker (*BM*, pp. 184-185) has made brief mention of two specimens of *Başrah*, year 61 (similar to *BM* No. 85), and one of *Başrah*, year 62 (similar to *BM* No. 87), two of them from the Newell Collection, the other from the Wood Collection. Similarly he has mentioned (p. 186) one of Rayy, year 60 (similar to *BM* No. 99 except that the earring is ••), published in my *NHR*, No. 7B (ex Newell Coll.). A specimen of Rayy, year 62 (ex Newell Coll.), similar to *BM* No. 104, was listed in *NHR* No. 9B.

Salm b. Ziyād

17. *Marv*. Year 63 A.H.=682/3 A.D.

Similar to *BM* Nos. 124ff. (p. 78), except that there is no crescent over the l. shoulder, and there is only one countermark 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥, in the first quarter of the obverse. Date poorly preserved and badly written.



℞. ANS (ex Brand Coll.). 33mm., 3.43grm.  
PLATE II

‘Abdullāh b. Khāzim

18. *Balkh*.<sup>7</sup> Year 67 A.H.=686/7 A.D.


<sup>7</sup>I am inclined to accept Walker's interpretation of the mint signature usually read as BBA (see *BM*, pp. cxii-cxiii), in spite of the epigraphical difficulty inherent in this reading. I cannot agree with the bulk of Paruck's counter-arguments (*op. cit.*, pp. 99-100), although I am not equipped to dispute his statement with regard to the Parsik form of the name Balkh.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

Similar to *BM* No. 158 (p. 88), but no crescent over the l. shoulder, and countermark  over  of obverse margin.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33mm., 3.97grm.


19. *Marv.* Year 66 *A.H.*=685/6 *A.D.*

Similar to *BM* No. 172 (p. 91), but countermark  only, in second quarter of obverse margin, between the Arabic legend and the edge of the flan.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 34mm., 4.06grm.


PLATE II

20. *Marv.* Year 69 *A.H.*=688/9 *A.D.*

Identical with *BM* No. 182 (p. 93). I mention it only because it has the same countermark in almost the same position, just above .


Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 34mm., 4.02grm.


21. *Marv.* Year 69 *A.H.*=688/9 *A.D.*




Similar to *BM* Nos. 175ff. (pp. 92-3), but countermark  only, in third quarter.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33mm., 3.68grm.

22. *Marv.* Year 70 *A.H.*=689/90 *A.D.*

Three specimens, similar to *BM* No. 185 (p. 94), but with different countermarks, to wit: (a)  in first quarter.

(b)  (twice ?) in first quarter.

(c)  over , and  in third quarter.

There are minor differences in the epigraphy of the date. One of the specimens received mention by Walker, p. 191.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 34, 34, 34mm., 4.06, 4.02, 3.96grm.

## ARAB-SASSANIAN

‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydullāh

23. *Ardashir-Khurrah*. Year 70 A.H.=689/90 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. Cam. 9 (p. 99), except in these particulars: pellet over l. shoulder; obv. margin •✱•) •✱• :: لله الحمد •✱•; no countermark; pellet l. and r. of mint signature; no pellet r. of date.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28mm., 2.93grm.



PLATE II

24. *Bishāpūr*. Year 67 A.H.=686/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 194 (p. 99), except in the following particulars: earring ••; points in obverse margin uncertain due to clipping; no countermarks. Mentioned but not described by Walker, p. 193.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.57grm.

25. *Bishāpūr*. Year 68 A.H.=687/8 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 195 (p. 99), but ear-crescent doubtful, and countermarks  and  in fourth quarter.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33mm., 4.04grm.

PLATE II

26. *Bishāpūr*. Year 69 A.H.=688/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 197 (p. 100). This specimen received mention by Walker (p. 193), but it is illustrated here because it shows the pellet on the reverse margin, cut off in the *BM* specimen.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 32mm., 4.02grm.

PLATE II

‘Ubaydullāh b. abi-Bakrah

27. *Sistān*. Year 79 A.H.=698/9 A.D.

Three specimens, of which one is similar to *BM* No. Th. 14 (p. 110). The other two: (a) breast-ornament ••; date obscure;

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# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

nothing l. and r. of flame; (b) breast-ornament ••(?) ; pellet under beginning of الله سم; pellet and obscure stroke l. and r. of flame.

℞. GCM (Bombay, 1946). 33, 32mm., 4.07, 3.98gm.  
PLATE II (No. 27b)

‘Aṭīyah b. al-Aswad

28. *Kirmān. Year 72 A.H.=691/2 A.D.*

This specimen is mentioned by Walker (p. 196). Although the date is obscure it is legible, and as the specimen differs in some particulars I describe it here: no Pahlevi inscription after ☼ in obverse margin; and the mint signature contains additional, but obliterated, letters at the end.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 31mm., 3.91gm.  
PLATE II

29. *Kirmān. Year 74 A.H.=693/4 A.D.*

Similar to *BM* No. Th. 15 (p. 111). I publish it here, as the Thorburn specimen has not been illustrated.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 28mm., 2.92gm.  
PLATE III

Al-Muhallab b. abi-Ṣufrah

30. *Bishāpūr. Year 75 A.H.=694/5 A.D.*

Similar to *BM* No. 222 (p. 114). There is a pellet after the date (also on the *BM* specimen, although not described).

℞. ANS. 32mm., 3.56gm.  
PLATE III

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf

31. *Bishāpūr. Year 76 A.H.=695/6 A.D.*



Identical with *BM* No. 230 (p. 118), but I reproduce it here in view of its remarkable interest and its relatively good preservation.

℞. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.), 32mm., 3.82gm.  
PLATE III

## BUKHĀRĀ

### *Barbarous Imitations*


#### 32. *Zaranj (?)*. *Date uncertain*.

Two specimens similar to *BM* No. 245 (p. 126). In both cases only part of the marginal Arabic legend is preserved, and the name of the mint is completely effaced. The epigraphy of the name in Pahlevi at the r. of the bust differs somewhat from the *BM* specimen, but HUSRUI is undoubtedly the correct reading. On the specimen illustrated I can make nothing of the mint signature (if any); on the other specimen it is defaced by a crack in the coin. The dates (?) are:  and .

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 33, 32mm., 3.07, 3.00grm.

PLATE III (No. 32a)

### *'Abbāsīd Coins of Bukhārā*

In the ANS collection there are three specimens of the Bukhārā intermediate imitations (*BM* Nos. b.5-b.6, p. 163); one of the type with  (*BM* No. 317, p. 164); nine of the المهدى type (*BM*, variant (i), Nos. 319ff., pp. 164-166), and three other specimens, described below.

#### 33. *Bilingual, with legend "Al-Mahdi al-Faḍl li'llāh."*

One other example of this very rare issue has been published (W. Tiesenhansen, *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff* (St. Petersburg, 1880) p. 11, Pl. I, No. 5 = *BM* No. Ties. 5 (p. 167). The obverse of the present piece is identical with the above. The reverse, which has never been illustrated, bears, as Walker assumed, the usual debased representation of a fire altar and attendants, with a grotesque head of Hormuzd on the altar surmounted by flames. Nothing can be made of the inscriptions (?).

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.93grm.

PLATE III

34. *Arabic legend, 'Ali Sulaymān.*

Two specimens similar to *BM* Nos. 344-350 (pp. 168-9), bearing the obverse legend: بسم الله محمد رسول الله محمدية مما

امر به الامين على سليمان لله

They are of different dies, but essentially similar to the published specimens. I illustrate one of them, only because it appears to bear a letter or letters after the critical word على,—the point of greatest difficulty in the interpretation of the legend which Walker has so thoroughly and competently discussed (*BM*, pp. xciv-xcvi). I accept Walker's reading and argument for al-Amin, but I must confess to considerable scepticism about the suggestion that the names of two governors are present. Unfortunately the present specimen fails to clinch an argument in favor of a concealed بن or of على يدى, because the letters(?) after على are not clear; but I believe that it does somewhat support one of these two logical possibilities; *i.e.*, an omitted word which would make the legend read either "‘Ali b. Sulaymān" or "at the hands of Sulaymān."

*R.* ANS. 25, 25mm., 2.51, 2.43grm.

PLATE III (No. 34a)

*Arab-Ephthalite*

The two rare Arab-Ephthalite coins in the ANS, one of Rabī b. Ziyād (?), and the other of ‘Abdullāh b. Khāzim (?), have been published by Walker, *BM* Nos. ANS 17 and ETN 20, pp. 127-8.

*Khwārizm*

35. *Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (?)*. *Ca. 179 A.H. = ca. 795 A.D.*

Beardless head of king, r., wearing crested helmet (?), surrounded by turban with flaps behind; necklace of two strands. Debased Aramaic legend at r.

Horseman, riding prancing horse with trappings r., holding whip (?) upraised with left hand, and reins with right; wears crested helmet (?), with flaps; quiver suspended diago-

# KHWĀRIZM

nally behind rider's legs; above croup, in finely engraved Kufic characters, *الفصل*; around, legend in Khwārizmian characters.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 1.91grm.  
PLATE III

Coins of this and allied types were first discussed by W. Tiesenhhausen and E. Thomas in 1870,<sup>8</sup> and subsequently by Cunningham, Rapson, Drouin, Markov and others.<sup>9</sup> Their identification long remained uncertain, but since the publication of S. P. Tolstov in 1938<sup>10</sup> there can no longer be any doubt about the correct attribution of the present type to the late eighth century Khwārizmian kings of the Aphrigid dynasty. As a result of excavations conducted by the Soviet Institute for the History of Material Culture in 1937-1938, Tolstov has been able to establish the provenance of this type and its antecedents of the third to eighth centuries, and to suggest the identification of certain of the issuing rulers with the names of kings given in al-Birūnī's list of the pre-Islamic Khwārizmian dynasty.<sup>11</sup>

The particular type represented here, bearing the name *al-Faḍl*, is in all probability an issue of the Arab viceroy of Khurāsān, the Barmecide al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, who governed in the East from 177

<sup>8</sup> E. Thomas, "Indo-Parthian Coins," *NC*, 1870 pp. 142ff. = *JRAS*, 1870, pp. 153ff.

<sup>9</sup> E. J. Rapson, "On the Attribution of certain Silver Coins of Sassanian Fabric," *NC*, 1896, pp. 246ff.; Ed. Drouin, "Observations sur les Monnaies à légendes en Pehlevi et Pehlevi-Arabe," *RA*, 1886, p. 66; A. K. Markov, "Neizdannye arsakidskie monety," in *ZVORAO*, VI, pp. 265-304.

<sup>10</sup> Monety Shakhov Drevnego Khorezma i Drevnekhorezmiiskii Alfavit, in *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, No. 4, 1938, pp. 120-145. It is unfortunate that the illustrations accompanying this article are so poor. The following notes were written before the publication of Richard N. Frye's "Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana" (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 113, N.Y., 1949), in which (pp. 19ff.) the present type is discussed and this particular piece is illustrated.

<sup>11</sup> The results of these excavations are summarized in an article by Henry Field and Eugene Prostov, "Excavations at Khwarazm, 1937-1938," in *Ars Islamica*, Vol. VI, Pt. 2, 1939, pp. 158-166. The coins are briefly discussed on pp. 164-5.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

to 179 or 180 A.H.=793-797 A.D.<sup>12</sup> Other coins of similar type bear the name *Ja'far*, identified with Ja'far b. Muḥammad, governor of Khurāsān in 171-173 A.H.=787-789 A.D.<sup>13</sup> On both of these types Tolstov tentatively reads the Khwārizmian legend as '*Abdullāh Shāh*, the Muslim name of the probable Aphrigid ruler of the period.<sup>14</sup>

The weights of Tolstov's specimens with Arabic legends are: 2.05, 1.92, 1.44 and 1.32 grms.

## 'Abbāsīd Governors of Ṭabaristān

'Umar b. al-'Alā

### Name in Pahlevi

36. Year 122=157 A.H.=773/4 A.D.

This coin is unique. Similar to *BM* No. 262 (p. 134), except in the following particulars: star and pellet l., pellet (and star ?) r., of crown; star l. and crescent r. of flame; date **𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭮𐭥** (the first letter is missing because the coin has been pierced at this point); pellet over S of mint name.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 24mm., 1.91grm.

PLATE III

### Name in Pahlevi and Arabic

37. Year 125=160 A.H.=776/7 A.D.

Identical with *BM* No. B. 40 (p. 136). I reproduce it because of its excellent preservation.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 1.92grm.

PLATE III

<sup>12</sup> Ṭabari III, pp. 629, 631, 637, 645. There is some question about the period of al-Faḍl's governorship of Khurāsān: cf. the discussion in my *NHR*, pp. 67-8. Tolstov (*op. cit.*, p. 131) gives 787-795 A.D. and makes reference to other reports of the dates of al-Faḍl's viceroys. Barthold (*Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S., V, London, 1928, pp. 202, 464) gives 794-795. It is, of course, not to be excluded that the Faḍl mentioned on the coins is al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān (783-787 A.D.) (cf. Tolstov, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>13</sup> Tolstov, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Ṭabari III, p. 609.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 135.



## ṬABARISTĀN

### *Name in Arabic*

38. Year 127 = 162 A.H. = 778/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 268 (p. 138), but no pellet over S of mint name.<sup>15</sup>

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 24mm., 1.87grm.

PLATE III

### Sulaymān

39. Year 137 = 172 A.H. = 788/9 A.D.

Six specimens similar to *BM* Nos. 285-288 (pp. 144-5), but with various differences in the neck-ornamentation, and none with the faulty obverse marginal inscription. I reproduce two specimens only.

(a) ℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.10grm.

(b) ℞. GCM (Istanbul, 1942). 23mm., 1.76grm.

PLATE III (No. 39a)

PLATE IV (No. 39b)

40. Year 138 = 173 A.H. = 789/90 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 288 (p. 145), but with different neck-ornamentation. This issue is rare (cf. *BM* p. 209); Unvala lists none.

℞. GCM (Istanbul, 1942). 23mm., 1.71grm.

PLATE IV

### Jarir

41. Year 135 = 170 A.H. = 786/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. Z. 5 (p. 145), but breast-ornament ••, and pellet (not star) l. and r. of flame.

℞. ANS. 25mm., 1.92grm.

42. Year 136 = 171 A.H. = 787/8 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 289 (p. 145), but breast-ornament ••, and star l. and r. of flame.


℞. ANS (ex J. F. Jones Coll.). 24mm., 1.65grm.

<sup>15</sup> J.-M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān* (Paris, 1938), pl. XXII, lists some specimens that may be identical to this. This work cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon as it abounds in errors and contains no legible reproductions. I have not attempted to collate his references to specimens in the ANS.

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Hāni

43. Year 137=172 A.H.=788/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 291 (p. 147), but breast-ornament , and (apparently) crescent l. and pellet r. of flame.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 1.94grm.

44. Year 138=173 A.H.=789/90 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 293 (p. 147), but breast-ornament ; l. and r. of flames obscure.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.17grm.

Muqātil

45. Year 139=174 A.H.=790/1 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 296 (p. 149), but crescent l. and star r. of flame.<sup>16</sup>

℞. F. H. Armstrong (Toronto). 23mm., 1.87grm.

‘Abdullāh

46. Year 139=174 A.H.=790/1 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. I. 55 (p. 150), but the date on this specimen is distinct.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1936). 23mm., 2.07grm.  
PLATE IV

There are in the ANS two specimens of Abdullāh's issue of the year 140. The obverse of one and the reverse of the other is illustrated in the *BM* catalogue as No. ANS 21 (p. 151), Pl. XXVI, No. 5.

“Afzut” Coins

47. Year 133=168 A.H.=784/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 305, except in the following particulars: the breast-ornament appears to be a star; tiny pellet l. and r. of the flame.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 24mm., 1.82 grm.

<sup>16</sup> Unvala does not list this variety.

## ṬABARISTĀN

48. Year 134=169 A.H.=785/6 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 306 (p. 155), but star, not pellet, l. and r. of flame.

R. R. D. Kenney (N.Y.). 25mm., 2.11grm.

49. Year 136=171 A.H.=787/8 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 312 (p. 157), but breast-ornament ••, and pellets (?) l. and r. of flame.

R. GCM. 24mm., 1.61grm.

50. Year 137=172 A.H.=788/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. ETN 23 (p. 158), but the *BM* description implies a star l. and r. of flame, whereas both the ETN specimen and the present one have pellets, not stars.

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 24mm., 2.04grm.

51. Year 137=172 A.H.=788/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. ETN 23 (p. 158), but breast-ornament ••, and star l. and r. of flame.

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 23mm., 1.80grm.

PLATE IV

52. Year 141=176 A.H.=792/3 A.D.

Similar to *BM* No. 313 (p. 159), but breast-ornament ••, and pellet l. and star r. of flame.

R. ANS. 24mm., 2.16grm.

PLATE IV

53. Year 143=178 A.H.=794/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* Nos. 314ff. (p. 160), but breast-ornament uncertain, and pellet l. and r. of flame.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 1.78grm.

## B. EARLIEST AFRICAN AND SPANISH ISSUES

### *Gold*

54. *Africa. Type I.*

Similar to *BM* ix,<sup>17</sup> Nos. 74-75 (p. 21), Codera,<sup>18</sup> pp. 39-42. The

<sup>17</sup> *BM* references henceforth are to Stanley Lane-Poole's *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1875-90).

<sup>18</sup> Don Francisco Codera y Zaidin, *Tratado de Numismática Árábigo-Española* (Madrid, 1879).

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

present piece presents nothing unusual, but good specimens of these issues are of sufficient rarity to deserve reproduction.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 10mm., 2.01gm.  
PLATE IV

55. *Africa. Type I.*

Similar to *BM ix*, No. 73 (p. 21), but inscriptions imperfectly preserved.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 10mm., 1.36gm.  
PLATE IV

56. *Spain. Type III. Year 93.*

Similar to *BM ix*, No. 92 (p. 24), Codera, pp. 46-51. Obverse inscriptions completely preserved: ININ~~2~~L~~3~~AFRTIN~~2~~PNANNXCIII and IN~~3~~C~~3~~XI.

N. ANS (ex Newell, ex Campaner Coll.). 12.5mm., 4.26gm.  
PLATE IV

*Copper*

57. *Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.*

Same type as *Paris*, i, Nos. 120-124, but the variant inscriptions are worth recording:

Obv.: reading from top clockwise (upside down) Δ NI . . . . . (right side up) XVX.

Rev.: reading from top counter-clockwise NIIVSI~~8~~MVS . . . . . MIR(?) . . . .

Æ. ANS. 15mm., 2.90gm.  
PLATE IV

C. BYZANTINE-ARAB

*Copper*

Among the approximately fifty Byzantine-Arab coppers in the collection of ANS there are several varieties of types commonly described. These may be of use to the scholar who undertakes a complete publication of this series, but the varieties do not seem to me to be worth reproducing here. The few quite unusual pieces are described below.

BYZANTINE-ARAB COPPER

58. *Harrān*.

Caliph standing. At l.: محمد



At r.: حران

Beaded border.

At l.:  At r.: محمد

Beneath: obscure, IS (?)

Beaded border.

Cf. Ties., No. 52 (Adler).

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 2.93gm.

PLATE IV

59. *Qinnasrīn*.

A very rare coin similar to that in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, described by R. Cotteville-Giraudet, *RN*, 1935, pp. 227-8.

Bearded head of Caliph (?),  
facing.

ضرب  
قنسر[ين]

From the eyebrows downward the face is better preserved than on the Paris specimen, but not unfortunately the upper part of the head, on which Cotteville-Giraudet in part bases his argument in reply to Walker's suggestion<sup>19</sup> that the "Caliph" on Byzantine-Arab coins should not be described as bare-headed. This coin is so curious that I reproduce it in spite of its poor preservation.

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 16mm., 2.12gm.

PLATE IV

60. *Uncertain Mint*.

Figure of Heraclius I, standing,  
as *BM* ix, Nos. 2ff. (pp. 4-6).

Letters at r. obscure.

Beaded border.

In center: 

Beneath: الوفا لله

Beaded border.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 20mm., 4.01gm.

PLATE IV

<sup>19</sup> J. Walker, *NC*, 1935, p. 125.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

61. *Uncertain Mint.*

Caliph standing. Traces of legend at l., upwards,

... مير (?)

Beaded border.

In center:



Around: beginning at top, upside down,

لا اله الا الله ... رسول الله

Beaded border.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 18mm., 3.62gm.

PLATE IV

## II. THE POST-REFORM Umayyad COINAGE

### A. Gold

Of the thirty-three Umayyad dinars in the ANS collection the following seven merit publication.<sup>19a</sup>

62. *Year 91 A.H.=709/10 A.D. One-third dinar.*

Within circle: ي اله ا  
ي اله

Within circle: بسم الله  
الرحمن  
الرحيم

Margin: Qur'an, IX, 33, to الحق

Margin:

ضرب هذا الثلث سنة احدى وتسعين  
N. ANS (Greenwood). 14mm., 1.42gm.  
PLATE IV

63. *Year 94 A.H.=712/3 A.D. One-quarter dinar.*

Similar to *BM* i, No. 17, but *تسعين* (*sic*), and the weight is that of a quarter dinar, although the legend appears to read *الثلث*.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 12mm., 1.07gm.  
PLATE IV

64. *Year 96 A.H.=714/5 A.D. One-half dinar.*

Similar to *BM* i, No. 20, but both size and weight conform to the standard of a half dinar, although the legend reads *الثلث*.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 16.5mm., 2.11gm.  
PLATE IV

65. *Al-Andalus. Year 102 A.H.=720/1 A.D. One-third dinar.*

As no. 62 above, but rev. margin: ضرب هذا الثلث بالاندلس سنة  
ثنتين ومئة

A similar specimen was published by Longpérier (*Ties.*, No. 497).

N. ANS (ex Newell, ex Campaner Coll.). 15mm., 1.43gm.  
PLATE IV

<sup>19a</sup> Listed in *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, III (1948), Nos. 43, 53, 57, 75, 84, 87 and 92.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

66. *Ma'din Amīr al-Mu'minīn bi'l-Ḥijāz.*

Year 105 A.H.=723/4 A.D.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

الله احد الله  
الصمد لم يلد  
ولم يولد معدن  
امير المؤمنين  
بالحجاز

Margin: Qur'ān, IX, 33, to كله

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين سنة خمس ومئة  
N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 20mm., 4.16gm.  
PLATE IV

This extraordinary issue, of which there were four specimens (from two sets of dies) in the Princesse Ismail Collection, was partially described and discussed by P. Casanova as early as 1896.<sup>20</sup> It may be that the present coin is one of the duplicates in Casanova's inventory, which later perhaps found its way into the market and eventually into the hands of Mr. E. T. Newell, who presented it in 1929 to the ANS. At all events the extreme rarity of the coin and the uniqueness of the mint, "The mine of the Commander of the Believers in the Ḥijāz," contribute to the singular interest of this issue. After writing the brief note cited above Casanova proceeded, over a period of years, to collect material relating to the problem of identifying this mine. In an article<sup>21</sup> in which he made use of all the available Arabic historical and geographical sources, of the accounts of modern travellers and explorers, and of all the existing maps, he arrived at the undoubtedly correct conclusion that the "mine of the Commander of the Believers in the Ḥijāz" is to be identified with Ma'din (later Ḥarrah) Bani Sulaim, southeast of Medina and north-west of Mecca, on the route between Baghdad and Mecca, at approximately 41° 20' E., 23° 30' N.<sup>22</sup> The Arab historians record

<sup>20</sup> Casanova, Nos. 162-3, 3976-7, and pp. IV-VI.

<sup>21</sup> Casanova presented the substance of his study at the geographical section of the "Congrès des sociétés savantes de Strasbourg," and published the full monograph under the title, *Une Mine d'or au Hidjāz*, in "Bulletin de la Section de Géographie" (*Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*), Vol. XXXV, Year 1920 (Paris, 1921), pp. 69-125.

<sup>22</sup> These coordinates, through no fault of M. Casanova's, cannot be trusted. The chaotic state of the cartography of Arabia until the most recent times is notorious.



# UMAYYAD GOLD

that the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101 A.H.) bought a piece of land, on which there was at least one mine, from the son of a certain Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith, to whom the property had been given in fief by the Prophet; and Casanova has amply demonstrated that this mine was the source of the gold as well as the mint of our coin. While this dinar was struck five years after the death of the Caliph whose personal property the mine was, it is not surprising to find the name of the mint still in use.

There seems to me little doubt that the Ma'din Bani Sulaim is further to be identified with "Mahad Dahab" (مهد ذهب), the site of the gold mine now being worked by the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate Ltd., under the management of the American Smelting and Refining Company.<sup>23</sup> I owe to Mr. K. S. Twitchell the knowledge of many interesting facts in connection with this mine, located at 40° 52' 45" E., 23° 29' 52" N. In 1941 Mr. Twitchell was kind enough to place at my disposition a photograph of an extremely interesting Kufic inscription found in the old tailings of the mine, and I hope soon to be able to publish this inscription together with a further discussion of the probable identity of "Mahad Dahab" and the "Mine of the Commander of the Believers in the Ḥijāz." The inscription, dated 304 A.H.=916/7 A.D., records the building of a great highway for the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>24</sup>

## 67. Year 107 A.H.=725/6 A.D.

Similar to *Khedivial Library*, No. 41, except that the points under **يولد** are lacking.

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 20mm., 4.19grm.

PLATE IV

## 68. Year 110 A.H.=728/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM ix*, No. 32<sup>a</sup> (p. 28), except that ten is written عشرة, instead of عشر. In size, weight, fabric and style this dinar is atypi-

<sup>23</sup> Cf. K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia, with an Account of the Development of its Natural Resources* (Princeton, N.J., 1947), p. 146.

<sup>24</sup> I presented the substance of this inscription in a short paper entitled "Two Epigraphical Documents from Mahad Dhahab in the Ḥijāz," before the American Oriental Society at its annual meeting in Washington, D.C. in April, 1947.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

cal. It is possibly a contemporary forgery but more probably the issue of some temporary mint.<sup>25</sup>

N. ANS. 24mm., 4.08gm.  
PLATE IV

## B. SILVER

There are more than 230 Umayyad dirhams of the reformed type in the ANS. Of these the following are worthy of notice:

69. *Arminiya*. Year 100 A.H.=718/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 48, except that there is no point in the rev. area.

R. ANS. 28mm., 2.87gm.  
PLATE V

70. *Ifriqiya*. Year 98 A.H.=716/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 54, but date سنة ثمان وتسعين. Pellet under ر of ضرب and under ت of وتسعين. This is the earliest date of this mint known to me.

R. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 27mm., 2.46gm. (ringed)  
PLATE V

71. *Ifriqiya*. Year 102 A.H.=720/1 A.D.

Similar to *BM* ix, No. 53<sup>7</sup> (p. 30), but كله not omitted.

R. ANS. 29mm., 2.82gm.  
PLATE V

72. *Ifriqiya*. Year 116 A.H.=734/5 A.D.

Two specimens similar to *BM* i, No. 56, but date: سنة ست عشرة ومئة

(a) R. ANS. 28mm., 2.91gm.  
(b) R. GCM. 23mm., 2.25gm. (clipped)  
PLATE V

73. *Ifriqiya*. Year 124 A.H.=741/2 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 58, but date: سنة اربع وعشرين ومئة

R. ANS. 27mm., 2.87gm.  
PLATE V

<sup>25</sup> Lacking access to Tiesenhhausen's reference under his No. 543, I cannot tell whether the dinar of 110 described there is of this peculiar fabric and style.

UMAYYAD SILVER

74. *Bihqubādh al-Awsaṭ*. Year 90 A.H.=708/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 43, but mint and date:

بِهَقْبَادِ الْاَوْسَطِ فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعِينَ

R. ANS. 26.5mm., 2.75gram. (formerly ringed)

PLATE V

Of the three *Bihqubādh*'s (al-'Alā, "Upper," al-Awsaṭ, "Middle," and al-Asfal, "Lower"), four specimens are known (all of the year 90) of al-Asfal<sup>26</sup>; two specimens of al-Awsaṭ, of which the present is one<sup>27</sup>; and none of al-'Alā.

75. *Al-Taymarrah*. Year 98 A.H.=716/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 69, but date: فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَتِسْعِينَ

R. ANS. 27mm., 2.72gram.

PLATE V

76. *Al-Janzah(?)*. Year 94 A.H.=712/3 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 43, but mint and date:

بِالْجَنْزَةِ [؟] سَنَةِ اَرْبَعٍ وَتِسْعِينَ

Points: • under ب of ضرب which is curiously written; •• under ا of هذا; • under ج of الجَنْزَةِ; •• under ا of اَرْبَعٍ.

R. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 28mm., 2.72gram.

PLATE V

This unique coin, if the mint name is properly read, is of very considerable interest. The writing of the mint name is curiously bungled, probably by uneven striking, with the result that the definite article has scarcely any relief (it is clear to the eye on the coin itself, but not in the reproduction of the cast), and there appears to be a stroke between the  $\text{ع}$  and the  $\text{ن}$ . However, I believe that the reading can be taken to be correct. *Janzah*<sup>28</sup> is the early Arabic orthography of Γάνξαχα, Ganjah, or Kanja (Elizabetpol),

<sup>26</sup> One in the E. T. Rogers Collection (*NC*, 1874), one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one in the Khedivial Collection, and one in my own. Cf. Walker (*Arab-Sassanians*), p. cix, note 2.

<sup>27</sup> The other, also of the year 90, only recently came to my attention: Ulla S. Linder-Welin, "Ein grosser Fund Arabischer Münzen aus Stora Velinge, Gotland" in *NNA*, 1941, p. 94.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, II, p. 132; and Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 178.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

an important city of Arrān between Bardā' and Tiflis, in what is now Karabagh. The existence of this mint-name on an issue of the reformed coinage is important collaborative evidence of the probable validity of Mordtmann's and Walker's attribution of an Arab-Sasanian dirham to KNJA (Kanja).<sup>29</sup>

In Markov's inventory of the Ermitage Collection a dirham of "Djanze," also of the year 94, is listed (p. 4, No. 106); it is probably identical with the present specimen, although I do not know what to make of the parenthetical description, "polovinka." Is only half of the coin preserved, or is it a half-dirham?

77. *Jundi Sābūr. Year 90 A.H.=708/9 A.D.*

Similar to *BM* i, No. 74, but date: *في سنة تسعين*

℞. *ANS* (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.48grm. (frag. lacking)  
PLATE V

77a. *Dabīl. Year 85 A.H.=704 A.D.*

Similar to *BM* i, No. 43, but mint and date:

*بديل سنة خمس وثمانين*

℞. W. L. Clark (New York). 25mm., 2.65grm.  
PLATE V

Dabīl, not to be confused with Ardabīl,<sup>30</sup> is an exceedingly rare mint. I know only of issues of the years 84, 85, and 86 A.H., and to my knowledge only one other specimen of the year 85 has been recorded (Markov, p. 961, No. 25<sup>a</sup>).

78. *Dasht-Maysān. Year 80 A.H.=699/700 A.D.*

Similar to *BM* i, No. 43, but mint and date:

*بدشت ميسان في سنة ثمانين*

℞. *ANS*. 26mm., 2.69grm.  
PLATE V

This coin is unique, and is, so far as I am aware, the only appear-

<sup>29</sup> A. D. Mordtmann, "Zur Pehlevi Münzkunde" in *ZDMG*, 1879, p. 131, No. 95; Walker, *op.cit.*, pp. cxx, cxxxv, and cxli.

<sup>30</sup> Yāqūt, II, pp. 548-9; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 182.

# UMAYYAD SILVER

ance of this mint in the reformed coinage. Maysān and Dasht-Maysān (Dasht-i Maysān) were districts in 'Irāq.<sup>81</sup>

79. *Dimishq*. Year 118 A.H.=736 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 113, but unlike the *BM* specimen, the weight is up to standard.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26.5mm., 2.89gm.

80. *Al-Sāmīyah*. Year 131 A.H.=748/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 141.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24.5mm., 2.86gm.

This mint was originally read al-Shāmīyah by Lane-Poole, and later (*BM* ii, p. 221) corrected to read al-Sāmīyah. The full and cogent argument for identifying al-Sāmīyah with "Baesamsa" or "Besamia" of Characene, near the capital Spasinu-Charax, is set forth by Otto Blau in an article entitled "Mesenisches" in *NZ*, IX, 1877, pp. 270-273.<sup>82</sup>

81. *Sarakhs*. Year 90 A.H.=708/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 132, but date: في سنة تسعين

℞. ANS. 27mm., 2.75gm. (pierced)

PLATE V

This is the earliest issue of this mint known to me.

82. *Surraq*. Year 92 A.H.=710/11 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 133, but date: في سنة ثمان وتسعين

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27.5mm., 2.91gm.

PLATE V

83. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 108 A.H.=726/7 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 148, but date: سنة ثمان ومئة The coin is clipped and the annulets are therefore off the flan.

℞. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 23.5mm., 1.93gm.

PLATE V

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 42, 80; and Walker, *BM* (Arab-Sassanians), pp. cxvii-cxviii, cxl, where mention is made of the existence of this dirham.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. N. G. Nassar, *Quarterly, Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine*, XIII, Nos. 3-4, p. 121.

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84. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 127 A.H.=744/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 141, but mint and date:

بالكوفة سنة سبع وعشرين ومئة

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.77grm.

PLATE V

There is, so far as I know from published notices, no other example of a Kūfah issue of this date. That this specimen may be of the year 129 (of which there are a number of published specimens) rather than 127, is not entirely out of the question, as there is no clear separation between any of the first four strokes of the digit. While the first stroke may be a little higher than the others, there appears to be slightly more space between the third and fourth strokes than between any of the others. In view of the revolutionary issues of the year 128, there would seem to me to be a likelihood—which of course cannot be supported without a view of the examples—that there were no regular issues of al-Kūfah after 128 (see No. 85 below), and that the published specimens attributed to the year 129 should read 127.

85. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 128 A.H.=745/6 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 141, but mint and date: بالكوفة سنة ثمان

وعشرين ومئة An identical piece was published by E. von Zambaur, "Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale," in *NZ*, 1914, p. 116, no. 401.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.90grm.

PLATE V

This is a regular Umayyad issue. All other specimens of this mint and date (e.g., *BM* ix, No. 150<sup>bb</sup>, p. 35), with the exception of Zambaur's piece, are of the revolutionary type of abu-Muslim, with لا حكم الا لله.

86. *Manādhir*. Year 80 A.H.=699/700 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 162, but date: في سنة ثمانين

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.58grm.

PLATE V

This is the earliest issue of this mint known to me.

#### UMAYYAD SILVER

87. *Maysān*. Year 79 A.H.=698/9 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 43, but mint and date:

بميسان في سنة تسع وسبعين

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.53gm.

PLATE V

88. *Hamadhān*. Year 91 A.H.=709/10 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 170, but date: في سنة احدى وتسعين. The mint name is, as usual, defectively written همنن.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 29mm., 2.89gm.

PLATE V

89. *Hamadhān*. Year 96 A.H.=714/5 A.D.

Similar to *BM* i, No. 170, but date: في سنة ست وتسعين. The annulets are clipped off the flan.

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.31gm.

#### C. COPPER

The ANS collection contains over 300 Umayyad *fulūs* of various reformed types. These may be classified roughly in five categories: those with (a) the simplest religious legends, (b) less common religious inscriptions, (c) animals and birds and other adjuncts, (d) dates but no mint names, and (e) mint names, with or without dates, sometimes with governors' names. At present I do not propose to describe any of the pieces in the first category. So few of these types with more or less identical legends have been accurately reproduced that it is impossible to tell whether a given type has been published or not. Certainly the classification of these early anonymous coppers is something that should be undertaken, but this is a task not appropriate to the present publication. The student who undertakes such a study should have access to all the larger collections, and in attempting to determine the provenance should travel throughout the former Umayyad lands, gathering the evi-

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

dence on the spot, for copper seldom travels far. Above all, he should make full use of the mass of excavation specimens, the vast majority of them unpublished but doubtless stored in the basements and closets of many museums in Europe and America.

Of the remaining four categories I describe a few here which appear to me, without exhaustive search for similar published types, to be worthy of notice.<sup>33</sup>

90. *No mint (?), or date.*

Within square: ي ا ل ه ا

ي ا ل ه

و ح د ه

Marginal legend ?

Within square: Fish to l.

At top: م ح م د

At l.: ر س و ل

At bottom: ا ل ه

Annulet (or inscription ?) at r.

Æ. ANS. 15mm., 3.19grm.

PLATE VI

91. *No mint (?), or date.*

Within beaded circle: duck to r.

Traces of marginal legend ?

Within beaded circle: ل ه

Margin: . . . . . م ح م د

Æ. ANS (ex Newell, ex Torrey Coll.). 15mm., 2.52grm.

92. *No mint or date.*

[1] ي ا ل ه

ي ا ل ه

Scroll

Æ. ANS. 16mm., 5.07grm.

PLATE VI

93. *No mint or date.*

Lion crouching to l.

Around: ي ا ل ه ا ل ه و ح د ه

Within beaded circle:

م ح م د

ر س و ل

ا ل ه

Margin within beaded circle:

oooooo

Æ. ANS. 15mm., 2.63grm.

PLATE VI

<sup>33</sup> To my knowledge only three of the Umayyad coppers in the ANS have been published: Al-Rayy, years 101, 116 and 120 A.H. (*NHR*, Nos. 26, 30, and 31B).



UMAYYAD COPPER

94. *No mint. Year 107 A.H.=725/6 A.D.*

Double struck and obscure.

Area illegible

Within beaded circle: محمد

Margin: . . . هذا الفلّس سنة سبع ومئة

رسول  
الله

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 16mm., 3.38gm.

PLATE VI

95. *No mint. Year 109 A.H.=727/8 A.D.*

Within beaded circle:

Within beaded circle:

لا اله الا  
[ا]  
لا اله الا [حد]  
.....  
لا شر [بك]  
له

.....  
سو \* ل . . . (?)  
سنة تسع  
ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 5.92gm.

96. *No mint. Year 116 A.H.=734/5 A.D.*

Within circle:

Within circle:

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك . . .

الله احد ا  
الله الصمد  
لم يلد و

Margin: (*sic*)

Margin: (*sic*)

محمد رس . . . دى ودين ا

بسم الله ضر . . . سنة ست عشر

Æ. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 21mm., 4.59gm.

97. *Adharbayjān. No date.*

Within beaded circle:

Within beaded circle:

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

محمد ر  
سول الله ا  
ذريجان

The two letters before the J of the mint name are obscure, but I believe there can be little doubt about the reading.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 18mm., 1.92gm.

PLATE VI

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

98. *Mint ? No date.*

Within triple beaded circle:

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

Within beaded circle:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس باندلس

E. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.60grm.

PLATE VI

The mint name is puzzling. It might be باندلس, assuming the D to be defectively written. But the omission of the definite article would be irregular, and the fabric is not Andalusian.

99. *Ba'alabak. No date.*

Within beaded circle:

لا اله  
الا الله (sic)  
وحده

In center, star within circle

Margin: ضرب في (?) بملكك (sic)

E. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 15mm., 2.66grm.

PLATE VI

100. *Dimishq. No date.*

Within circle:

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

Within partly beaded circle:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Outside circle, at top:

ضرب بدمشق

Outside circle, at top:

ضرب بدمشق

E. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 23mm., 2.92grm.

PLATE VI

101. *SR (?). No date.*

Within triple beaded circle:

لا اله  
الا الله  
و  
وحده

Within beaded circle:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin:

... ضرب هذا الفلاس بسر

E. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 3.42grm.

PLATE VI

[ 30 ]

# UMAYYAD COPPER

There is a space between the end and the beginning of the marginal legend. Is Q perhaps omitted: Surraq, a known mint at which Umayyad dirhams were struck? Neither Surr, nor Sirr, seems likely.<sup>84</sup>

102. *Ṭabariyah* (?). Year 110(?) A.H.=728/9 (?) A.D.

ل	Lion crouching to l.
لا الله	At bottom, downwards:
وحده	محمد   رسول   الله

Margin:

Margin: . . . الم[ؤ]نين بالوفا . . . طبرية (?) سنة عشر ومئة  
 B. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 17mm., 4.47grm.  
 PLATE VI

Both the mint and the date are very doubtful. The obverse margin must have read in part: امر امير المؤمنين بالوفا: "the Commander of the Believers ordered honesty."

103. *Atrīb; Miṣr*. No date [132 A.H.=750 A.D.].

In center, within beaded circle:	In center, within beaded circle:
مصر	اتريب

Margin:

عبد الله مروان امير المؤمنين

Margin:

علي [يدى] عبد الملك بن مروان

B. ANS. 18.5mm., 4.89grm.  
 PLATE VI

I am aware of only one other specimen of this humble but remarkable *fals*.<sup>84a</sup> In almost all respects, other than the critical reverse area, it is identical with several known copper issues of the last Umayyad Finance Director of Egypt, 'Adb al-Malik b. Marwān b. Mūsā, struck at Fustāt, Fayyūm and, perhaps, Iskandariyah.<sup>85</sup> These

<sup>84</sup> Yāqūt, III, p. 76.

<sup>84a</sup> In the Odessa Museum, first published by Otto Blau in NZ, VI-VII (1874-1875), under the title "Nachlese orientalischer Münzen," pp. 9-10, and subsequently in *Die orientalischen Münzen des Museums der Kaiserlichen Historisch-Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa*, 1876, No. 35. A drawing of this imperfectly preserved specimen appears on the title-page of the latter work. Due to its poor preservation Blau had difficulty with the reverse marginal legend and consequently ventured certain ingenious but certainly erroneous philological observations. His identification of the reverse area inscription, however, is identical with mine. I think it may be assumed that the Odessa specimen and the present one are of the same issue.

<sup>85</sup> See *Paris* i, Nos. 1494-5, *Berlin* i, Nos. 2028<sup>a,b</sup> (p. 376), *Ties.*, No. 655, *Khedivial Library*, Nos. 843-4; *Paris* i, No. 1496; *Khedivial Library*, No. 845. Cf. my *AGW*, pp. 95-6.

all bear Miṣr (Egypt) on the obverse, and the name of the specific mint on the reverse. Although the final letter of the word in the reverse area of the present piece looks more like J, H, KH, I believe B is intended and that the reading ATRĪB is almost certainly correct.

Atrīb, sometimes more correctly rendered Athrīb, is the Arabic form of ᾿Αθριβίς, capital of the νομός ᾿Αθριβίτης, in Lower Egypt, an important town in early Arab, Byzantine and ancient times, situated north of Cairo near modern Benha, in the delta.<sup>36</sup> The Arabs, in their best etymological tradition, ascribed the name to an eponymous Atrīb, son of Miṣr, son of Bayṣar, son of Ḥām, son of Nūḥ (Noah); Atrīb's brothers, among whom the rest of Egypt was divided, were Qubṭ (Copt), Ashmūn and Ṣā.<sup>37</sup> This is, to say the least, an over-simplification: we cannot fail to reckon with ancient Egyptian *Ḥat-te-her-ēbe* (or *Ha-to-heri-ab*), and Assyrian *Hathariba*.<sup>38</sup>

Atrīb had a pre-Arab numismatic history: we know, for example, of bronze issues of Trajan and Hadrian for the nome ΑΘΡΙΒΙΤΗC,<sup>39</sup> and of leaden tokens of the third century, inscribed ΑΘΡΙΒΙC.<sup>40</sup> It is, I think, of more than passing interest and perhaps suggestive of further profitable study to Byzantinist and Arabist alike, that Atrīb and Fayyūm (Arsinoe), which along with Fustāt (old Cairo) and Alexandria (?) appear as the earliest *specific* Arab mints in Egypt,

<sup>36</sup> For the Arabic name, cf. Yāqūt, I, pp. 111-12, and III, pp. 762-3, where Atrīb is described as the district (kūrah) of which the chief town was ᾿Ayn Shams (Heliopolis), in his day in ruins, nothing remaining but "ancient monuments." The pre-Arab literature is given in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii, s.v. Athribis, p. 2070. Atrīb (Athrīb) figures frequently in the history of the Persian and Arab campaigns in Egypt: cf. Alfred J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion* (Oxford, 1902), *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, ii, pp. 394-6; also Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*, and Jacques de Rougé, "Monnaies des Nomes de l'Égypte" in *RN*, n.s. Vol. XV, pp. 49-50.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 864, and G. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), Nos. 6213-6216.

<sup>40</sup> Dattari, *op. cit.*, No. 6415, and J. G. Milne, "Egyptian Leaden Tokens" in *NC*, 1930, pp. 307-9.

# UMAYYAD COPPER

were two of four towns (Memphis and Oxyrhynchus being the others) whose names occur on the leaden tokens.<sup>41</sup>

104. *Al-Mawṣil. No date.*

Within partly beaded circle:

الله  
احد الله  
الصمد

Within beaded circle:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin, within partly beaded

circle: بسم الله لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له

Margin, within beaded circle:

امر الضحاك بضرب هذا الفلص  
بالموصل

Two specimens, from different dies, the marginal legends beginning at quite different points on each specimen. The governor's name, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, is imperfectly preserved on the specimen illustrated; it is quite clear on the other, but unfortunately the latter is too smooth to permit of satisfactory reproduction.

Æ. GCM (Damascus, 1935). 22, 19.5mm., 3.84, 5.22grm.

PLATE VI (No. 104a)

An imperfect specimen of this coin was published by Soret.<sup>42</sup>

105. *Wāsiṭ. Year 108 A.H.=726/7 A.D.*

Within double circle:

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له

Within circle:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Annulets: ☉ ☉ ☉

Margin, within circle:

بسم الله ضرب . . . الفلص بواسط  
سنة ثمان ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 21mm., 2.47grm.

There is no published *Wāsiṭ fals* of this year in any of the large collections.

Finally I include six obscure cast coins, probably Umayyad but possibly early 'Abbāsid, and probably from northern Syria. I do not attempt to identify them further, but the reproductions may be of

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

<sup>42</sup> "Lettre à . . . Fraehn," *Mém. Soc. Imp. d'archéologie*, St. Petersburg, 1851, No. 28 = Ties., No. 2635.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

use to someone who, it is to be hoped, will one day attempt the classification of these crude cast coins. A large number of cast coins of similar fabric and style was found in the Princeton excavations at Antioch: some of these are described in my report on the Islamic coins of Antioch.<sup>42a</sup>

106.

Cross surrounded by four large pellets.      Obscure inscriptions.

Two specimens, of different dies.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 18, 17mm., 2.25, 2.05grm.  
PLATE VI (No. 106a)

107.

لا اله	محمد
الله	رسول
	الله

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 17mm., 1.79grm.  
PLATE VI

108.

Obscure three-line inscription      الإسلام (?)

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 16mm., 2.17grm.  
PLATE VI

109.

الامير	على يدى
منصور (?)	الصلح (?)

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 16mm., 1.87grm.  
PLATE VI

110.

Within circle:

لا اله  
(sic) الا

Annulets, within outer circle:

•••••

Within circle:

لامر  
مري

Annulets, within outer circle:

•••••

Æ. ANS. 21mm., 2.18grm.  
PLATE VI

<sup>42a</sup> In *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part One* (Princeton, 1948), Nos. 148-153, pp. 118-19.

### III. THE 'ABBĀSID COINAGE

In the description of 'Abbāsid coins the following space-saving conventions have been observed. Unless otherwise noted the obverse area is understood to read: لا اله الا

الله وحده  
لا شريك له

and the reverse area: محمد

رسول  
الله

Supplementary words or symbols in the obverse and reverse areas are given above and beneath a horizontal line, indicating their position relative to the conventional inscription. In the gold described here the Qur'ānic verses XXX, 3-4, لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ لا اله الا الله are present in the outer obverse margin; the presence of these verses in the silver is noted on each occurrence. In both the gold and the silver the Qur'ānic verse IX, 33, [محمد رسول الله] ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون more or less complete, is always present in the reverse margin. The first part of the mint-date formula preceding the name of the mint (obverse inner margin in the gold, obverse margin or inner margin in the silver) is understood. Reverse central pellets are not noted; it is difficult to determine when these are simply centering points and when they are in the nature of ornament, the distinction perhaps depending on the size.

#### A. GOLD<sup>48</sup>

111-137. Twenty-five "mintless" dinars, differing from those heretofore described, of the years 138, 142, 147, 149, 153, 160 167, 168, 170, 171, 177, 178, 184, 187, 196, 199, 201, 202, 203 and 205, and two dinars

<sup>48</sup> At the date of writing there are 120 'Abbāsid dinars in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society; the University Museum Collection contains 206. Of these the specimens described in the following pages are worthy of notice; the rest are well-known, or relatively well-known, issues.

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of Miṣr, dated 203 and 216 A.H., published in *Some Early Arab Dinars*.<sup>44</sup> Of these seventeen are in the UM Collection and ten in the ANS.

138. *Miṣr. Year 222 A.H.=836/7 A.D.*

بمصر سنة اثنتين وعشرين ومائتين

لله  
المعتصم بالله

N. UM. 20.5mm., 4.05gm. (pierced)

139. *Ṣan'ā. Year 224 A.H.=838/9 A.D.*

بصنعا سنة اربع وعشرين ومائتين

As above.

N. ANS. 18.5mm., 3.34gm.

There is a specimen of this issue in the Ermitage (Markov, p. 44, No. 781, not described). Only two earlier gold coins of Ṣan'ā are known, of the years 221 and 223, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

140. *Surra man-ra'a. Year 226 A.H.=840/1 A.D.*

بسر من رای سنة ست وعشرين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 21mm., 4.13gm.

PLATE VII

To my knowledge this is, by five years, the earliest recorded dinar of Samarra, and only two years later than the earliest dirham.<sup>45</sup> Samarra became the temporary 'Abbāsīd capital in 221 A.H.<sup>45a</sup>

141. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 227 A.H.=841/2 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة سبع وعشرين ومائتين

لله  
الواثق بالله

N. ANS. 21mm., 4.08gm.

<sup>44</sup> *The American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes* III (1948), Nos. 9, 14, 21, 23, 32, 43, 57, 60, 61, 68, 69, 83, 84, 85, 96, 104, 121, 126, 131, 136, 138, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148 and 160.

<sup>45</sup> Dinar, 231, A.H., *Berlin*, No. 1449; dirham, 224 A.H., *Ties.*, No. 1860.

<sup>45a</sup> *E. of I.*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*.



'ABBĀSID GOLD

There is a dinar of the same mint and year in the Ermitage (Markov, p. 44, No. 788 = *Ties.*, No. 2855, not described).

142. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 228 A.H. = 842/3 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ثمان وعشرين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 22mm., 4.04grm. (pierced)

143. *Şan'ā. Year 229 A.H. = 843/4 A.D.*

بصنعا سنة تسع وعشرين ومائتين

As above.

N. ANS. 20.5mm., 3.48grm.

144. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 231 A.H. = 845/6 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة احدى وثلاثين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 22mm., 4.05grm.

145. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 245 A.H. = 859/60 A.D.*

Described in *NHR*, No. 130 B.

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 19mm., 4.25grm.

146. *Miṣr. Year 247 A.H. = 861/2 A.D.*

بمصر سنة سبع واربعين ومائتين

المعتر بالله

لله  
المتوكل على الله

N. UM. 18mm., 4.10grm.

One similar specimen is known: *Constantinople* II, No. 597.

147. *Surra man-ra'a. Date illegible = Dec. 861-June 862 A.D.*

بسر من راي سنة . . .

The mint-date formula is abbreviated and illegible, but the mint is almost certain.

لله  
المنتصر بالله

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 19mm., 3.26grm.

PLATE VII

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

There is, so far as I know, only one other published dinar of the ephemeral Caliph al-Muntaşir, also struck at Samarra and with the date 248 preserved. It is in the British Museum.<sup>46</sup>

148. *Marw. Year 249 A.H.=863/4 A.D.*

بمرو سنة تسع واربعين ومائتين

العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
المستعين بالله

N. UM. 22mm., 4.11grm. (pierced)  
PLATE VII

149. *Marw. Year 250 A.H.=864/5 A.D.*

بمرو سنة خمسين ومائتين

As above.

As above.

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 22mm., 4.20grm.

150. *Miṣr. Year 255 A.H.=869 A.D.*

بمصر سنة خمس وخمسين ومائتين

4th line effaced.

5th line: امير المؤمنين

ج

لله

4th line effaced.

5th line: امير المؤمنين

N. UM. 23.5mm., 4.22grm.  
PLATE VII

This is a most interesting coin. It was undoubtedly issued by the Caliph al-Muhtadi in the early months, probably at the very beginning, of his brief reign. The names on the fourth lines of the obverse and reverse areas are not simply effaced on the coin, they were actually obliterated by gouging out the lines on the dies. There can be no doubt that the mint-master, on being informed of the investiture of al-Muhtadi and before new dies bearing his name had been cut, used old dies of the year 255 of the preceding Caliph al-Mu'tazz, removing—but not so completely that the traces are not still visible—

<sup>46</sup> J. Allan, "Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate," *NC*, 1919, p. 196.

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the names of the latter's son ‘Abdullāh, the heir apparent, on the obverse, and of al-Mu‘tazz himself on the reverse. The effaced inscriptions are preserved on dinars of al-Mu‘tazz issued at Miṣr in 254 and in 255.<sup>47</sup>

151. *Ṣan‘ā. Year 257 A.H.=870/1 A.D.*  
بصنا سنة سبع وخمسين ومائتين

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
امير المؤمنين

N. ANS. 20mm., 2.91grm.

There appears to be only one other specimen of this issue (NC, 1919, p. 196, not described).

152. *Miṣr. Year 257 A.H.=870/1 A.D.*  
بمصر سنة سبع وخمسن (sic) ومائتين

جفر  
لله  
المعتمد على الله

N. UM. 21.5mm., 4.18grm.

153. *Miṣr. Year 257 A.H.=870/1 A.D.*

As above, but date correctly written. As above, but ج beneath.

N. ANS. 22.5mm., 4.13grm.  
PLATE VII

<sup>47</sup> Berlin, No. 1512; Harvey Porter, "Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate," NC, 1921, p. 322, lacking the ornament or letter beneath the obverse area. Since the above was written, M. Marcel Jungfleisch has made mention of a similar dinar of Miṣr, 225 A.H., with inscriptions effaced on the dies ("Un poids et une estampille sur verre datant d'Ahmed ibn Touloun," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXX (1948), p. 5, footnote (2), of the reprint). There and in recent correspondence with me, M. Jungfleisch has suggested that the explanation of the mutilation may not be as simple as the one I have advanced. Deleting the lines on the old dies would have been almost as much trouble as engraving entirely new ones. The true explanation may lie in political complexities which cannot be discussed here.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

154-155. *Miṣr. Year 258 A.H.=871/2 A.D.*

بمصر سنة ثمان وخمسين ومائتين

جفر

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
حمران (or) حرنر

2 specimens: *N. UM.* 21mm., 4.12, 4.14gm.  
PLATE VII (No. 155)

This issue is known,<sup>48</sup> but I publish this specimen here in order to raise again the question of the reading of the enigmatic word beneath the Caliph's name on the reverse. Rogers was unable, as I am, to read it. Lavoix read "Najrān," which it might be, but who was he (it could not be the place name)? Lane-Poole read "Baḥrayn" on a dinar of 261 A.H., with mint effaced, bearing a similar legend.<sup>49</sup> The clear presence of the mint name *Miṣr*, on the present and Paris specimens, would seem definitely to negate this reading. In a sense this issue is Ṭūlūnid, and dinars of the same year struck at *Miṣr* without the word in question have been so classified by a number of writers,<sup>50</sup> for Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn had already in 254 become the *de facto* ruler of Egypt. It would not be surprising if we had here the name of some Turkish official, but I can make no specific suggestion.

156. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 259 A.H.=872/3 A.D.*

بالاهواز سنة تسع وخمسين ومائتين

As above.

لله  
المعتمد على الله

*N. UM.* 20.5mm., 4.23gm.

<sup>48</sup> E. T. Rogers, "Notice on the Dinars of the Abbaside Dynasty," *JRAS*, 1875, p. 22 of reprint; *Paris*, No. 1020, where Lavoix refers to the specimen described by Rogers but says that the word beneath the reverse is different from that on the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale. I believe it is the same.

<sup>49</sup> *Khedivial Library*, No. 619.

<sup>50</sup> E.g., E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭūlūni Dynasty* (London, 1877), p. 17.

‘ABBĀSID GOLD

157. *Ṣan‘ā*. Year 259 A.H.=872/3 A.D.

بصنعا سنة تسع وخمسين ومائتين

لله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
المعتمد على الله  
امير المؤمنين

Margin ends with كله .

N. UM. 20mm., 2.90grm. (pierced)  
PLATE VII

158. *Surra man-ra‘a*. Year 263 A.H.=876/7 A.D.

بسر من راي سنة ثلث وستين ومائتين

المفوض الى الله	لله المعتمد على الله
-----------------	-------------------------

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 22.5mm., 3.32grm.

159. *Qumm*. Year 282 A.H.=895/6 A.D.

بقم سنة اثنتين وثمانين ومائتين

لله  
المعتمد بالله

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 19.5mm., 4.16grm. (pierced)

This is apparently the earliest known dinar of Qumm, a rare ‘Abbāsid mint. The earliest heretofore known is one in the Ermitage dated 284 (Markov, p. 916, No. 885<sup>a</sup>).

160. *Ḥarrān*. Year 284 A.H.=897 A.D.

نحران سنة اربع وثمانين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 23.5mm., 3.97grm.  
PLATE VII

This is, so far as I am aware, the earliest known ‘Abbāsid coin of Ḥarrān.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

161. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 284 A.H.=897 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة اربع وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin ends with ۞.

As above.

N. ANS. 22mm., 3.88grm.

162. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 288 A.H.=900/1 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ثمان وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin ends with ۞.

As above.

N. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 24mm., 4.14grm.

163. *Filasṭīn. Year 291 A.H.=904 A.D.*

فلسطين سنة احدى وتسعين ومائتين

ولي الدولة	لله المكتفى بالله
------------	----------------------

N. UM. 23mm., 3.44grm.

PLATE VII

One other specimen of this interesting issue is known.<sup>51</sup> The absence of the Ṭūlūnid ruler's name proclaims the reconquest of Filasṭīn (al-Ramlah) by the 'Abbāsīd forces. A Ṭūlūnid dinar struck by Hārūn b. Khumārawaih at Filasṭīn earlier in the same year has been published.<sup>52</sup> The present coin must have been struck sometime after May in the year 904, for it was in Rajab, 291 (May/June, 904) that the general Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was sent by the Caliph to recover Syria for the 'Abbāsīds. Just when al-Ramlah was captured I have not been able to determine, but at all events the coin establishes the fact that it was during the course of the year 291 (after Rajab) and before the first month of 292 (Nov., 904), when Muḥammad b. Sulaymān started from Syria "toward the border of Egypt to combat Hārūn b. Khumārawaih." By Rabī' I, 292 (Jan., 905), Fustāt in Egypt had been retaken by the 'Abbāsīds.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Markov, p. 49, No. 904, not described.

<sup>52</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 324; cf. E. Zambaur, "Neue Khalifenmünzen," NZ (Wien), 1922, p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Ṭabari III, pp. 2248, 2251-2; cf. Ibn-Khaldūn, IV, p. 310; also H. A. R. Gibb, s.v. Ṭūlūnids, in the *E. of I.*, and E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭūlūni Dynasty*, p. 13.

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Wali al-Dawlah (beneath the obverse area) was the title of the Vizier abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh.<sup>54</sup>

164. *Niṣībīn*. Year 292 A.H.=904/5 A.D.

بنصيبين سنة اثنتين وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 23mm., 4.30grm.

165. *Iṣbahān*. Year 293 A.H.=905/6 A.D.

باصبهان سنة ثلث وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. ANS (ex. Nies Coll.). 22mm., 4.17grm.

166. *Iṣbahān*. Year 293 A.H.=905/6 A.D.

Similar to No. 55, but • beneath obverse area.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 4.24grm.

PLATE VII

These two dinars of Iṣbahān are exceptionally rare. To my knowledge only one other ‘Abbāsīd dinar of the famous Persian city has been published: 300 A.H., Markov, p. 978, No. 934(a).

167. *Filasṭīn*. Year 293 A.H.=905/6 A.D.

فلسطين سنة ثلث وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 23mm., 3.77grm.

One specimen of this issue has been published but not fully described.<sup>55</sup>

168. *Al-Mawṣil* Year 293 A.H.=905/6 A.D.

بموصل سنة ثلث وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. ANS. (ex Newell Coll.). 22.5 mm. 4.13grm.

PLATE VII

<sup>54</sup> For this identification and a discussion of the title, see Fraehn, *apud* Ties., No. 2175, and the sources quoted there.

<sup>55</sup> Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 324; cf. Zambaur, *NZ*, 1922, p. 9.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

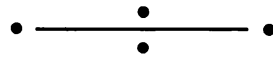
Mosul is also a very rare 'Abbāsid dinar mint. I am aware of only two other issues: 263 A.H. (*Constantinople* II, No. 938) and 278 A.H. (*BM*, i, No. 366).

169. *Al-Rāfiqah*. Year 294 A.H.=906/7 A.D.  
بالرافقة سنة اربع وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 24mm., 3.14grm.

170. *Filasṭīn*. Year 294 A.H.=906/7 A.D.  
فلسطين سنة اربع وتسعين ومائتين



As above.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.66grm. (pierced)

PLATE VII

One specimen of this issue has been published but not described (Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197).

171. *Dimishq*. Year 295 A.H.=907/8 A.D.  
بدمشق سنة خمس وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 21.5mm., 4.10grm.

172. *Al-Rāfiqah*. Year 295 A.H.=907/8 A.D.  
بالرافقة سنة خمس وتسعين ومائتين (sic)



As above.

N. UM. 25.5mm., 2.98grm.

173. *Al-Karaj*. Year 295 A.H.=907/8 A.D.  
بالكرج سنة خمس وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 23mm., 4.00grm.

PLATE VII

Al-Karaj (usually read al-Karkh) is an exceptionally rare mint,



and this dinar is by thirteen years the earliest known.<sup>56</sup> Lavoix, Markov, Codrington and Allan read the name as al-Karkh, and in this form it appears in Codrington's *Manual*, identified as "part of Baghdad." I cannot believe that this is an acceptable identification: Karkh was a suburb of Baghdad and the presence of a mint there, so close to the capital, would be very unlikely.<sup>57</sup> I submit, without proof to be sure, that the mint is Karaj, that is the Karaj "of abi-Dulaf" between Hamadhān and Iṣbahān.<sup>58</sup> The few Arabic lead seals that have been published establish the fact that Karaj, the capital of the petty dynasty of the Dulafids, was an administrative and fiscal center during the second half of the third century of the Hijrah.<sup>59</sup> We have, unfortunately, no Dulafid coins of Karaj to support the argument, but it would certainly not be surprising if one should turn up, for the Dulafid generals did issue coins at Iṣbahān, Fārs, Māh al-Kūfah, Hamadhān, and (?) Muḥammadiyah,<sup>60</sup> and the presence of a mint at the seat of their principality is to be expected. Ten years before the present issue the 'Abbāsid government reassumed control over the territory administered for more than half a century by the Dulafids, and if my supposition be correct, we have in this coin evidence of the continuation of Karaj as an administrative center after it had been "put on the map," so to speak, by the Dulafids. By the time of the author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (372 A.H. = 982 A.D.), the Karaj of abi-Dulaf was mostly in ruins.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> 308 A.H. (*Paris*, No. 1130; *Markov*, p. 52, No. 965); 315 A.H. (*Paris*, No. 1131); 318 A.H. (O. Codrington, "Some Rare Oriental Coins," *NC*, 1902, p. 272); 321 A.H. (*Markov*, p. 54, No. 1025); date effaced (al-Qāhir), 320-322 A.H. (Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197).

<sup>57</sup> Yāqūt, IV, p. 254; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 31. Zambaur (*NZ*, 1922, pp. 10-11) also accepts the reading al-Karkh and the identification as a "Quartier der Hauptstadt." There is, as a matter of fact, no reason to assume that Karkh, reading the name so, is the Karkh of Baghdad: Yāqūt lists half a dozen Karkhs, including those of Baṣrah, Sāmarrā, Maysān, etc.

<sup>58</sup> Yāqūt, IV, p. 251; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-8. This Karaj is to be distinguished from that in the Rūdhrawar district, between Hamadhān and Nihāwand: see G. C. Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty," *Iraq*, V, pt. 2 (1938), p. 104.

<sup>59</sup> Khalil Edhem, *Qūrshūn mūhūr qatālogı* (Constantinople, 1321), pp. 20ff.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Markov, and R. R. Vasmer, *Dva klada kuficheskikh monet* (Leningrad, 1927), p. 46. My doubts about the Dulafid issues of al-Muḥammadiyah have been expressed in *NHR*, p. 128.

<sup>61</sup> *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, transl. V. Minorsky (E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. XI (1937), p. 132.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

174. *Dimishq. Year 297 A.H.=909/10 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة سبع وتسعين ومائتين

لله  
المقتدر بالله

N. UM. 25mm., 4.12gm.

PLATE VII

175. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 297 A.H.=909/10 A.D.*

بالرافقة سنة سبع وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

N. UM. 25mm., 3.52gm. (pierced)

176. *Dimishq. Year 298 A.H.=910/1 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائتين

As above.

ابو العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

N. UM. 24mm., 3.67gm. (pierced)

177. *Şan'ā. Year 299 A.H.=911/2 A.D.*

بصنعا سنة تسع وتسع (sic)

As above.

Margin ends with كله .

N. ANS. 20mm., 2.82gm.

178. *Miṣr. Year 299 A.H.=911/2 A.D.*

بمصر سنة تسع وتسعين ومائتين

ابو العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

Very lightly struck.

لله  
المقتدر بالله

N. UM. 25.5mm., 4.18gm.

There is a specimen of the same mint and date in the British Museum (Allan, NC, 1919, p. 197, not described).

‘ABBĀSID GOLD

179. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 301 A.H.=913/4 A.D.*

بالرافقة سنة احدى وثلاثمائة

ابو العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
المقتدر بالله

N. UM. 27.5mm., 4.23grm. (part of edge broken or clipped)

PLATE VII

Although there are dirhams of later date this appears to be the last known dinar of al-Rāfiqah.

180. *Miṣr. Year 303 A.H.=915/6 A.D.*

بمصر سنة ثلث وثلاثمائة

As above.

As above.

N. UM. 25mm., 4.04grm.

181. *Dimishq. Year 306 A.H.=918/9 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ست وثلاثمائة

As above.

As above.

N. UM. 24mm., 3.78grm. (pierced)

182. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 307 A.H.=919/20 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة سبع وثلاثمائة

As above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله  
J

N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 24mm., 3.88grm.

PLATE VII

The two published specimens of this issue have not been fully described (Markov, p. 51, No. 956; Allan, NC, 1919, p. 197).

183. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 308 A.H.=920/1 A.D.*

بسوق الاهواز سنة ثمان وثلاثمائة

As above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله

N. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 25.5mm., 6.37grm.

PLATE VII

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This is, I believe, the earliest known dinar of Sūq al-Ahwāz. The weight is exceptional.

184. *Tustar min-al-Ahwāz. Year 309 A.H.=921/2 A.D.*

تستّر من الاهواز سنة تسع وثلاثمائة

As above.

As above.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 3.77grm.

Two specimens of this issue are known, but neither is fully described (Lane-Poole, "Fasti Arabici: Mr. Calvert's Collection," NC, 1885, No. 9; Allan, NC, 1919, p. 197).

185. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 309 A.H.=921/2 A.D.*

بسوق الاهواز سنة تسع وثلاثمائة

As above.

As above.

N. UM. 25mm., 4.19grm.

186. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 312 A.H.=924/5 A.D.*

بالاهواز سنة اثنتى عشرة وثلاثمائة

As above.

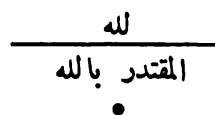
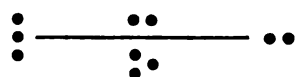
As above.

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 4.42grm.

According to Tiesenhausen (No. 2305), Fraehn listed, but did not describe, a dinar of this mint and date "in the British Museum," but this appears to have been an error, probably for Sūq al-Ahwāz.

187. *Miṣr. Year 313 A.H.=925/6 A.D.*

بمصر سنة ثلث عشرة وثلاثمائة



N. UM. 25mm., 4.02grm.

Specimens of other dies of this issue, with different arrangements of the pellets, have been published.

‘ABBĀSID GOLD

188. *Hamadhān. Year 313 A.H.=925/6 A.D.*

بهمذان سنة ثلث عشرة وثلثمائة



N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 3.96gm.

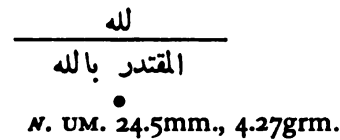
PLATE VIII

Tiesenhausen (No. 2311) lists an undescribed dinar of this mint and date.

189. *Miṣr. Year 314 A.H.=926/7 A.D.*

بمصر سنة اربع عشرة وثلثمائة

As above.



N. UM. 24.5mm., 4.27gm.

A specimen in Berlin (No. 1657) apparently has three pellets beneath the reverse; another in the British Museum (Allan, NC, 1919, p. 197) is not described in full.

190. *Ardabil. Year 318 A.H.=930 A.D.*

باردييل سنة ثمان عشرة وثلث مائة



N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 3.64gm.

PLATE VIII

A specimen in the British Museum (Allan, NC, 1919, p. 197) is not fully described.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

From the historical point of view this is an interesting and valuable coin, for it records the restoration of purely 'Abbāsid control in Azerbaijan during the complicated marches and counter-marches involving the Sājīd princes and several 'Abbāsid governors. Vasmer has traced in minute detail the developments of this involved period.<sup>62</sup>

191. *Bardha'ah. Year 318 A.H.=930 A.D.*

بیردعة سنة ثمان عشرة وثلث مائة

— —  
•  
ابو العباس بن  
•  
امير المؤمنين  
—

لله  
محمد  
—  
رسول  
—  
الله  
المقتدر بالله

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 4.16grm.

PLATE VIII

This is, I believe, the unique purely 'Abbāsid dinar of Bardha'ah, the capital of Arrān, north of Azerbaijan. It reflects the same political situation as that recorded in No. 190 above. A number of Sājīd dinars of Bardha'ah are known, and there are of course 'Abbāsid dirhams of the same mint, but this would appear to be the only Bardha'ah dinar not struck by the petty dynasts, and not bearing the name of one of the Caliph's *mawlas*, Waṣīf or Muḥliḥ al-Yūsufi.<sup>63</sup> This specimen, I think, should establish the fact that Muḥliḥ's governorship began during the course of the year 320, and before the 27th of Shawwāl in that year, for there are dinars and dirhams of Ardabil of 320 A.H.<sup>64</sup> bearing his name and that of the Caliph al-Muqtadir who was killed on the day mentioned.

<sup>62</sup> R. R. Vasmer, "O monetakh Sadjidov," in *Izvestia obschestva obsledavannya i izuchennya Azerbaidjana*, No. 5, pp. 22-51; see especially p. 44, where the BM specimen is taken into account. Cf. also *NHR*, pp. 142ff.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. a dinar of Bardha'ah, dated 323, struck by the latter, cited by Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 44, No. 27.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

'ABBĀSID GOLD

192. *Tustar min-al-Ahwāz. Year 318 A.H.=930 A.D.*

بتستر من الإهواز سنة ثمان عشرة وثلاثمائة

•  


---

 ابو العباس بن  
 امير المؤمنين

لله  


---

 المقتدر بالله

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 4.26grm.

One specimen of this issue has been published but not fully described.<sup>65</sup>

193. *Filasṭīn. Year 319 A.H.=931 A.D.*

فلسطين سنة تسع عشرة وثلاثمائة

---

 ابو العباس بن  
 امير المؤمنين

As above.

N. UM. 24mm., 4.06grm.

A specimen of this issue has been published but not fully described.<sup>66</sup>

194. *Miṣr. Year 319 A.H.=931 A.D.*

بمصر سنة تسع عشرة وثلاثمائة

As above.

---

 لله  
 المقتدر بالله  
 •

N. UM. 24.5mm., 4.02grm.

This specimen differs from published examples in the presence of the pellet beneath the reverse.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Lane-Poole, NC, 1885 (*op. cit.*), No. 9a.

<sup>66</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 325; cf. Zambaur, NZ, 1922, p. 10.

<sup>67</sup> Paris, No. 1145; *Khedivial Library*, Nos. 668, 668A.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

195. *Miṣr. Year 319 A.H.=931 A.D.*

Margin as above.

<hr/> ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين •	<hr/> الله المقتدر بالله
---	-----------------------------

*N. UM.* 24mm., 3.85gm.

196-198. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 320 A.H.=932 A.D.*

بالاهواز سنة عشرين وثلاثمائة

<hr/> ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين	<hr/> الله المقتدر بالله عميد الدولة
--------------------------------------	--

3 specimens: *N. ANS* (2 ex Newell Coll.). 26mm.,  
 25mm., 25mm.; 4.30gm., 3.39gm., 5.17gm.

PLATE VIII (No. 198)

A similar (?) specimen in the Ermitage<sup>68</sup> is not described. 'Amīd al-Dawlah was the title of the Vizier abu-'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim.<sup>69</sup>

199. *No mint. No date (Al-Muqtadir, 295-320 A.H.=908-932 A.D.).*

Nandi, sacred bull of Śiva, re- Horseman, in coat of mail(?),  
 clining left; above, المقتدر بالله. helmeted, riding horse to  
 left; above, الله جعفر.

*N. ANS* (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 19mm., 3.60gm. (about ¼ fragment lacking)

PLATE VIII

This is, to my knowledge, the only gold specimen of these extraordinary issues of the Kabul "bull and horseman" type. The silver dirhams of the same type have most recently been discussed by John Walker, who tends toward the view that these coins were "propaganda pieces purposely struck by the Caliph's moneyers in Iraq, in order to win the approval of the Hindu tribes of the Kabul

<sup>68</sup> Markov, p. 54, No. 1019.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Ties., No. 2357.



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Valley.”<sup>70</sup> The present unique dinar is not from the same dies as the silver specimens in the ANS (see below, Nos. 348-9), but is otherwise of identical design.

200. *Tustar min-al-Ahwāz. Year 321 A.H.=933 A.D.*  
بتستر من الاهواز سنة احدى وعشرين وثلاثمائة

•  
ابو القاسم بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
القاھر بالله

N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 23.5mm., 4.85grm.

Zambaur published but did not describe fully a specimen of this mint and date.<sup>71</sup>

201. *Miṣr. Year 322 A.H.=934 A.D.*  
بمصر سنة اثنتين وعشرين وثلاثمائة

•

لله  
الراضی بالله

N. UM. 23mm., 3.86grm.

There are two published specimens of this issue, but one lacks the pellet and the other is not fully described.<sup>72</sup>

202. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 329 A.H.=940 A.D.*  
بمدينة السلام سنة تسع وعشرين وثلاثمائة

•  
ابو الفضل بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
الراضی بالله  
J

N. UM. 22mm., 4.14grm.

<sup>70</sup> "Islamic Coins with Hindu Types," NC, 1946, pp. 121-128. The full bibliography of previously published dirhams of this type is given in the course of this article. Cf. A. S. Altekari, "A Bull and Horseman Type of Coin of the Abbasid Caliph al Muqtadir Biliyah [sic!] Ja'afar," in JNSI, VIII, pt. I, pp. 75-78.

<sup>71</sup> E. von Zambaur, "Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale," NZ, 1914, p. 120, No. 420.

<sup>72</sup> Khedivial Library, No. 693; Ties., No. 2929(a).

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203. *Mint? Year 336 A.H.=947/8 A.D.*

بسر سنة ست وثلاثين وثلاثمائة

لله  
محمد  
رسول الله  
المطيع لله

Margin undeciphered, possibly  
meaningless.

N. UM. 22.5mm., 2.76gm.

PLATE VIII

This is a very strange coin, exceptionally thin and underweight, and engraved with bold and clumsy characters. I have had to abandon the attempt to read the name of the mint in spite of the fact that it is quite clearly written. It consists of five "teeth" and a final letter with a tail which is probably a *ra*, *za*, or *nun*. Allowing one tooth for the preposition we are confronted with four "teeth" and a final letter: even if we take three of the "teeth" to be a *sin* or *shin*, we still have a bewildering number of possibilities. In Yāqūt I find many names whose letters would conform to these possibilities, but none of them seems a likely site for a mint. As a last resort one might argue that the die-engraver inadvertently omitted one tooth in writing Tustar. As for the reverse margin I can make nothing of it: it does not appear to be a conventionalization of the "Prophetic Mission."

The coins of al-Muṭī', other than those of other dynasties on which he is recognized as Caliph, are excessively rare.<sup>78</sup>

There follows a group of late 'Abbāsid dinars, most of them similar to published specimens but differing in a lesser or greater degree from them in respect to their weights. For the study of the metrology of the late 'Abbāsid period the following list should be of some use. As the legends differ in no way from the known dinars of al-Nāṣir, al-Mustanṣir and al-Musta'ṣim, epigraphical description is omitted.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *BM*, i, No. 478; *Paris*, Nos. 1268-9.

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204. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 611 A.H.=1214/5 A.D.*  
*N. ANS-MMA (ex Durkee Coll.). 31mm., 7.19grm.*
205. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 612 A.H.=1215/6 A.D.*  
*N. UM. 29.5mm., 6.84grm.*
- 206-207. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 613 A.H.=1216/7 A.D.*  
*N. UM. 30.5mm., 12.39grm.*  
*N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 30mm., 11.56grm.*
208. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 615 A.H.=1218/9 A.D.*  
*N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 24.5mm., 4.69grm. (pierced)*
209. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 620 A.H.=1223 A.D.*  
*N. UM. 30mm., 7.60grm.*
210. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 622 A.H.=1225 A.D. Al-Nāṣir.*  
*N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 3.78grm.*
211. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 638 A.H.=1240/1 A.D.*  
*N. ANS-MMA (ex Durkee Coll.). 24.5mm., 7.81grm.*
- This year appears to be unpublished.
212. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 641 A.H.=1243/4 A.D.*  
*N. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28mm., 8.73grm.*
- 213-214. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 642 A.H.=1244/5 A.D.*  
*N. ANS-MMA (ex Durkee Coll.). 29mm., 11.17grm.*  
*N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 28mm., 4.68grm. (ringed)*
215. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 643 A.H.=1245/6 A.D.*  
*N. UM. 28.5mm., 11.98grm.*
216. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 645 A.H.=1247/8 A.D.*  
*N. ANS-MMA (ex Durkee Coll.). 27mm., 9.34grm.*
217. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 648 A.H.=1250/1 A.D.*  
*N. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 27.5mm., 5.32grm. (ringed)*
218. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 654 A.H.=1256 A.D.*  
*N. ANS-MMA (ex Durkee Coll.). 26.5mm., 13.07grm.*
219. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 656 A.H.=1258 A.D.*  
*N. UM. 26.5mm., 8.90grm.*

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I am aware of only one other specimen<sup>74</sup> of this the last of 'Abbāsīd coins. It must have been struck in the first six weeks of the year, for al-Musta'šim was put to death and the 'Abbāsīd empire brought to an end by the Mongol Hūlāgū on the 14th of Šafar, 656.

## B. SILVER<sup>75</sup>

220. *Anṭākiyah. Year 138 (?) A.H.=755/6 (?) A.D.*

بانتاكية سنة ثمان وثلاثين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○○○○○

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.98grm.

PLATE VIII

An almost certainly identical coin was published by Fraehn,<sup>76</sup> who read the date as 188 or 168, and the mint بالدليكة, which he suggested might be for الدليكان, but he left the problem unsolved. The date is admittedly equivocal: the second stroke of the decade is not as high as it should be for *lam*, but no other reading than thirty is possible, unless it be eighty, but in that case one would have to assume that the *mim* had been written as a simple stroke. I have little doubt that 138 is correct, for the style of the coin and the epigraphy is definitely of that period. As for the mint I must confess that I spent many hours hunting for some likely interpretation of what appears to be الككة or الدكة or الداكة. The mystery was tantalizing particularly in view of the fact that one would not be likely to encounter a completely unknown town as a mint early in the 'Abbāsīd period. It finally dawned on me that the mint, like the date, is somewhat clumsily written, and that the second letter, being slightly more elongated than it should be, is a *nun*, and not the expected *lam* of the definite article. Likewise, the *kaf* is faultily engraved at the right, giving the impression that there is a "tooth"

<sup>74</sup> Allan, NC, 1919, p. 198.

<sup>75</sup> The 'Abbāsīd silver coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society number 821; in the University Museum Collection there are eighty-two. Noteworthy specimens among these, together with a few from other sources, are described in the following pages.

<sup>76</sup> *Recensio*, p. 30,\* No. 222 = Ties. No. 1443.

‘ABBĀSID SILVER

before it; and finally the *ya* is almost imperceptible. Admittedly these adjustments are numerous, but I am quite confident that *Anṭākiyah* is intended.

If this reading be correct, the issue is the sole evidence of the existence of a Muslim mint at Antioch before the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah.<sup>77</sup> The establishment of a mint in this important city in early ‘Abbāsid days might well be expected, but the reason for its abandonment for nearly two centuries must be a matter for speculation.

221. *Iṣṭakhr*. Year 139 A.H.=756/7 A.D.

باصطخر سنة تسع وثلاثين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○ ○○ ○○○ ○○ ○○○ ○○

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.85gm.

PLATE VIII

To my knowledge the only other ‘Abbāsid dirham of *Iṣṭakhr* is one dated 140 A.H.<sup>78</sup>

222. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 141 A.H.=758/9 A.D.

بالكوفة سنة احدى واربعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○ ○○○ ○○○

R. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 26.5mm., 2.61gm.

All published specimens that I have met with have ●●.

223. *Arrān*. Year 146 A.H.=763/4 A.D.

باران سنة ست واربعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○

R. ANS. 27mm., 2.89gm.

This is the second known ‘Abbāsid issue of *Arrān*. A specimen was listed by Bartholomae in 1862.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> The earliest known dirham of *Anṭākiyah* appears to be 307 (Ties., No. 2276); and the only dinar which I have noted is dated 306 (Porter, NC, 1921, p. 325; cf. Zambaur, NZ, 1922, p. 10).

<sup>78</sup> *Paris*, No. 1685.

<sup>79</sup> *RNB*, 1862, p. 104 = Ties., No. 754 (where the reference is to the reprint pagination of Bartholomae's third letter to Soret).

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224. *Arrān. Year 149 A.H.=766/7 A.D.*

باران سنة تسع واربعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

℞. ANS. 26.5mm., 2.86grm.

225. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 149 A.H.=766/7 A.D.*

Described in *NHR*, No. 51C. The letter beneath the reverse area differs in shape from the usual variety.

Annulets: ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26mm., 2.81grm.

226. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 157 A.H.=773/4 A.D.*

بالمحمدية سنة سبع وخمسين ومئة

مما امر به  
المهدي محمد  
بن امير المؤمنين  
ع

Annulets: ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○

℞. UM. 27mm., 2.71grm.

Mint and date are very badly written, but I am quite confident that they have been read correctly. This coin fills in a blank in the Rayy series. In *NHR* (p. 37) I rejected an unpublished dirham of this year which I had seen in the Istanbul Museum, but I believe it may now be accepted. Furthermore Tornberg's dirham of 159 is probably a specimen of the year 157.<sup>80</sup>

227. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 162 A.H.=778/9 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة اثنيتين وستين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○ ○○○○ ○○

محمد رسول  
الله صلى الله  
عليه وسلم  
ال خليفة المهدي  
●●

℞. ANS. 24mm., 2.87grm.

<sup>80</sup> Tornberg, No. 66 (p. 23) = *NHR*, No. 59.

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This variety, with this particular arrangement of pellets, appears to be unpublished.

228. *Al-‘Abbāsīyah. Year 168 A.H.=784/5 A.D.*  
 بالعباسية سنة ثمان وستين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

خلف

يزيد

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.50grm.

On an apparently similar specimen, Fraehn read  $\frac{\text{حله}^{\circ}}{\text{يزيد}}$ .<sup>81</sup>

229. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 168 A.H.=784/5 A.D.*  
 لمحمدمة (sic) سنة ثمان وستين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○●○○○

℞. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 26mm., 2.66grm.

This curious coin has been described and illustrated in *NHR*, No. 68C.

230. *No mint. No date.*

Obverse area enclosed by chain border. No marginal legend.



محمد رسول  
 الله مما امر به  
 الامير يحيى  
 بن الربيع  
 بخ

Annulets: ○○○○ ?

No marginal legend.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 12mm., 0.50grm.

PLATE VIII

I have not been able to identify the governor, Yaḥyā b. al-Rabīʿ;

<sup>81</sup> *Recensio*, p. 6,\* No. 111 = *Ties.*, No. 1044.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

his name does not appear in the early chronicles.<sup>82</sup> Fractional dirhams are rare, and the absence of mint and date is quite extraordinary. I have placed this coin here because of its similarity in style to the coins issued during al-Mahdi's rule. It must, at all events, be datable in the second half of the second century of the Hijrah.

231-232. *Al-Yamāmah. Year 170 A.H.=786/7 A.D.*

باليامة سنة سبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه  
وسلم الخليفة موسى  
بج

2 specimens: ♂. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26mm., 25mm.; 2.94grm., 2.82grm.

This appears to be an unpublished issue and the latest striking of this short-lived mint.

233. *Al-Hārūnīyah. Year 170 A.H.=786/7 A.D.*

بالهرونية سنة سبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

جرير  
محمد رسول الله  
الخليفة المرضي  
مما امر به هرون(?)  
امير المؤمنين

♂. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25mm., 2.70grm.

PLATE VIII

There is a bewildering number of issues at this mint during the three years (169-171 A.H.) of its existence. Of the year 170 alone I reckon at least seven distinct issues.<sup>83</sup> The present one appears to be

<sup>82</sup> The Kufic seal of a man named Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Rabī' is illustrated in Adler's *Collectio Nova Numorum Cuficorum . . . e Museis Borgiano et Adleriano* (Copenhagen, 1792), p. 40 (cf. p. 181). It is permissible, but perhaps fanciful, to conjecture that this person was the son of the unidentified governor.

<sup>83</sup> 1. Ties., No. 1099=BM, i, No. 139=Paris, No. 743; 2. BM, i, No. 140; 3. Paris, No. 744; 4. Ties., No. 1117=BM, i, No. 230=Berlin, No. 1241; 5. Ties., No. 1118=Berlin, No. 1240(?); 6. Ties., No. 1119=Berlin, No. 1242(?); 7. *Khedivial Library*, No. 397.



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the same as *Berlin*, No. 1240 (=Ties., No. 1118?), and I publish it here only because it may assist in untangling the whole series. The name at the top is doubtful; and هرون in the fourth line of the reverse is equally so.

234. *Ifriqīyah*. Year 173 A.H.=789/90 A.D.

بافريقية سنة ثلث وسبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

Above and in annulet border: يزيد

ع

محمد رسول

الله

ال خليفة هرون

روح

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.78grm.

This specimen differs from the published varieties.<sup>84</sup>

235. *Al-Mubārakah*. Year 174 A.H.=790/1 A.D.

بالمباركة اربع وسبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

(apparently)

ع

نصر

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25.5mm., 2.55grm.

Note the omission of the word *sanah*.

236. *Al-Muḥammadiyah*. Year 174 A.H.=790/1 A.D.

بالمحمدية سنة اربع وسبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25.5mm., 2.90grm.

This coin has been described in *NHR*, No. 74B.

237. *Madīnat al-Salām*. Year 176 A.H.=792/3 A.D.

بمدينة السلام سنة ست وسبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○ ○○ ○○ ○○

4

R. GCM (Istanbul, 1933). 22mm., 1.67grm.

PLATE VIII

<sup>84</sup> Ties., No. 1178 (p. 303) is most nearly like it, but lacks the name in the obverse margin. Cf. also Ties., Nos. 1177-8, *Berlin*, Nos. 966-8.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

This is an extremely rare year in the otherwise plentiful series of Baghdad. I am aware of only one other specimen, a fragment found in a hoard in East Prussia in 1866.<sup>85</sup>

238. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 178 A.H.=794/5 A.D.*  
 بالمحمدية سنة ثمان وسبعين ومئة

Annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.84grm.

This coin has been described in *NHR*, No. 79A.

239. *Al-Kūfah. Year 180 A.H.=796/7 A.D.*  
 بالكوفة سنة ثمانين ومئة

Annulets: ⊙ ⊙ ⊙

محمد رسول الله  
 مما امر به الامير الامين  
 محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
 جعفر

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.84grm.

I am aware of only one other specimen of this issue.<sup>86</sup>

240. *Ṣan'ā. Year 185 A.H.=801 A.D.*  
 بصنعا سنة خمس وثمانين ومئة



Annulets: ○ ○ ○ (rest effaced)

حماد

2 minute groups of letters

R. ANS. 18.5mm., 1.28grm.

PLATE VIII

One specimen of this fractional dirham has been published.<sup>87</sup> Ḥammād (al-Barbari) was governor of Mecca and the Yaman in 184 A.H., and this coin establishes the fact that he was also in office in 185.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> G. H. F. Nesselmann, in *ZDMG*, 1866, p. 610 = Ties., No. 2787.

<sup>86</sup> Ties., No. 2794 (not described in detail).

<sup>87</sup> *Recensio*, p. 25,\* No. 199 = Ties., No. 1387. The word beneath the reverse area was, as here, illegible.

<sup>88</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 649, 740; cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 113. He was still active (as governor?) in 191 and 192 A.H. (Ṭabari, III, pp. 712, 730).

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241. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 186 A.H.=802 A.D.*

بالمحمدية سنة ست وثمانين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

℞. ANS. 24mm., 2.90grm.

This coin is described in *NHR*, No. 87F.

242. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 186 A.H.=802 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ست وثمانين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○ ○○○○

محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الامين  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين  
جعفر

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.93grm.

This specimen is unique unless Tornberg's <sup>89</sup> and above the reverse area<sup>89</sup> is in fact <sup>90</sup> as here.

243. *Madīnat Balkh. Year 193 A.H.=809 A.D.*

بمدينة بلخ سنة ثلث وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○ (rest effaced)

هرثمة  
محمد رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وسلم  
ال خليفة الرشيد  
الحكم

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.56grm. (frag. lacking)

The reverse area legends are similar to those on an issue of Zaranj of the year 192<sup>90</sup>; and the full names of Harthamah b. Ā'yan and al-Ḥakam b. Sinān are present on a coin of the same mint struck in the following year.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ties., No. 2807.

<sup>90</sup> Ties., No. 1520.

<sup>91</sup> Ties., No. 1542; *BM*, i, No. 180.

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244. *Madīnat Nisābūr. Year 193 A.H.=809 A.D.*

بمدينة نيسابور سنة ثلث وتسعين ومئة

Point under *ba* of *ḍuriba*.

Annulets: ●●●●●●●●

لله

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامير المأمون

ولى عهد المسلمين

عبد الله بن امير المؤمنين

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 21.5mm., 3.95grm.

This specimen differs from *BM*, i, No. 245, in that it lacks the name 'Uthmān beneath the reverse area; and from *Ties.*, No. 1560, in the presence of the point under the *ba* of *ḍuriba*. Another specimen lacking the name 'Uthmān was found in the Stora Velinge hoard.<sup>92</sup>

245. *Ma'dīn Bājūnais. Year 194 A.H.=809/10 A.D.*

بمعدن باجنيس سنة اربع وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الخليفة

محمد امير المؤمنين

عبيد

R. ANS. 23.5mm., 3.09grm.

Similar to *Ties.*, No. 2820.

246. *Madīnat Samarqand. Year 195 A.H.=810/1 A.D.*

بمدينة سمرقند سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة

ح  
—  
هـ

Annulets: ●●●●●●●●

لله

ع

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به الامام

المأمون امير المؤمنين

الفضل

هـ

R. ANS. 24mm., 2.51grm.

<sup>92</sup> Ulla S. Linder-Welin, *NNA*, 1941, No. 558, p. 99.

'ABBĀSID SILVER

This coin differs in several respects from all published specimens of this year and mint.

247. *Ma'din Bājūnais. Year 195 A.H.=810/1 A.D.*

بمعدن باجنيس سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○

داود  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الخليفة  
محمد امير المؤمنين  
صرد

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.68grm.

Similar to Ties., No. 1604.

248. *Madīnat Harāt. Year 195 A.H.=810/1 A.D.*

بمدينة هرات سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○○○

لله  
محمد رسول  
الله مما امر به  
الإمام المأمون  
الفضل

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 23.5mm., 2.82grm.

This specimen differs in minor detail from one in the British Museum.<sup>98</sup>

249. *Madīnat Balkh. Year 196 A.H.=811/2 A.D.*

بمدينة بلخ سنة ست وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

As above, but large pellet beneath al-Faḍl (none above), and point over *fā* of al-Faḍl.

R. ANS (ex Nies Coll.). 24mm., 2.84grm.

This specimen differs in detail from published varieties.

<sup>98</sup> BM, ix, p. 58, No. 300<sup>x</sup>.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

250. *Madīnat Samarqand. Year 196 A.H.=811/2 A.D.*

بمدينة سمرقند سنة ست وتسعين ومئة

ح  
—  
•

Annulets: ○○ ○○○ ○○ ○○○ ○○ ○○○

لله

محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامام  
المأمون امير المؤمنين  
الفضل

•

R. ANS (Wood Coll.). 25mm., 2.80grm.

There are several published varieties of this mint and date, but none like this in detail.

251. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 197 A.H.=812/3 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة سبع وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○

ربي الله

محمد

رسول الله

ال خليفة الامين

○○○

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.90grm.

As in the year 176 (see No. 237 above) specimens of the Baghdad mint for 197 are excessively and curiously rare. The only other published coin that has come to my attention<sup>94</sup> appears to bear the name of al-Ma'mūn as Caliph, but I find this description difficult to credit. The present coin, at all events, would appear to be the last issue of al-Amīn at the capital.

252. *Dimishq. Year 198 A.H.=813/4 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ثمان وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○

Blurred word in third quarter  
of annulet border.

محمد

محمد رسول الله

الامام المأمون

عبد الله امير المؤمنين

بن يونس

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.83grm.

PLATE VIII

<sup>94</sup> Ties., No. 1650.

‘ABBĀSID SILVER

‘Abbāsid coins of Damascus are remarkably rare. Not only is this coin apparently unpublished but of proximate years I have noted only one specimen of the year 194 and two of the year 200.<sup>95</sup> The present issue is the first of a series of dirhams issued by an individual named Muḥammad b. Šālīḥ b. Bayhas al-Kilābi, who calls himself simply Muḥammad b. Bayhas on the coins. The numismatic record is not only satisfactory confirmation, but in some respects valuable elaboration, of the somewhat vague accounts in the chronicles of developments in and about Damascus at the turn of the century.

The coin evidence begins with the present dirham, dated 198 A.H. There follow issues of the years 200, 204, 205, 208 and 209, all bearing the name of Muḥammad b. Bayhas.<sup>96</sup> The next known issue, of the year 211, bears no name.<sup>97</sup> According to the historical account, Ibn-Bayhas, as he is usually called,<sup>98</sup> first appears on the scene toward the end of the year 195 A.H. as the leader of the ‘Abbāsid forces opposing the Umayyad pretender ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh al-Sufyāni, who in his attempt to seize the Caliphate and aided by the Kalbite faction, took possession of the principal cities of northern Syria. The issue became one of Kalbite-Kaisite rivalry, and we next learn that Ibn-Bayhas besieged Damascus whose Kaisite inhabitants surrendered the city to him, while al-Sufyāni escaped in women’s clothes. This event took place in Muḥarram of the year 198. Ibn-Bayhas became the “Lord of Damascus” (witness the coins), and “remained there until ‘Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir came to Damascus.”<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Berlin*, No. 1262; *Ties.*, No. 1705; *Paris*, No. 907.

<sup>96</sup> 200 A.H.: *Ties.*, No. 1705, *Paris*, No. 907; 204 A.H.: *ANS*, No. 257 below; 205 A.H.: *Paris*, No. 908, and one, unpublished, in the Princeton University Collection; 208 A.H.: *Ties.*, No. 1796; 209 A.H.: *Ties.*, No. 1801.

<sup>97</sup> *Ties.*, No. 1809.

<sup>98</sup> His full name is given at its first occurrence in Ibn-al-Athīr (VI, p. 172). He is mentioned by Yāqūt as an authority on the residents of Qarāḥtā, a village belonging to Damascus (Yāqūt, IV, p. 53; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 479). He is not to be confused with abu-Bayhas al-Haysam b. Jābir, the Khāriiite, founder of the Bayhasīyah branch of the sect, who was executed in the year 94 A.H. after fleeing to Medina from al-Ḥajjāj’s persecution (cf. Mas’ūdi, *Murūj*, V, p. 230; *E. of I.*, s.v. Abū Baihas). For the name, Bayhas (“lion”), see Ibn-Dorayd (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1854), p. 227.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, pp. 172-3; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, p. 235; cf. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, pp. 187-8; Fraehn, *apud* Tiesenhausen, No. 1705, quoting Ibn-‘Asākir.

Now I have failed to find exact mention of the date when the famous Ṭāhirid general and statesman "came to Damascus," but it seems fairly well established that al-Ma'mūn appointed him governor of all the territory lying between Raqqah and Egypt in 206 A.H.<sup>100</sup> The chronicles then say, apropos of Ibn-Bayhas, that 'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir thereupon went to Egypt, returned to Damascus and took Ibn-Bayhas with him to 'Irāq, "where he died."<sup>101</sup>

'Abdullāh b. Ṭāhir's return from Egypt and march to 'Irāq appears to have been toward the end of the year 211.<sup>102</sup> The only discordant factor in this chronology is a report to the effect that Ibn-Bayhas died in 210,<sup>103</sup> but I think we must assume that this is in error. Otherwise, with one exception which I come to below, the coins and the chronicles complement each other admirably; as I have noted above, the one known Damascus issue of the year 211 omits the name of Ibn-Bayhas.

The exception is a dirham of the year 203, listed by Porter among the coins in the University of Beirut Collection,<sup>104</sup> the reverse of which bears inscriptions similar to the present coin with one important difference: محمد above, and بن هرون beneath. This would be Muḥammad, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, later the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim. Zambaur<sup>105</sup> attempts to reconcile this issue with Muḥammad's (al-Mu'taṣim's) honorary governorship of Syria and Egypt

<sup>100</sup> Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, p. 257; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, p. 252 (206 A.H., "and some say 205 and some say 207"); cf. *E. of I.*, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir; Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 28 (who gives 205 as the date of the commencement of 'Abdullāh's government of Damascus).

<sup>101</sup> Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, p. 173; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, p. 235.

<sup>102</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 1098; Ibn-Khallikān, ed. de Slane, I, p. 396=transl., II, p. 52 (end of 211 or in Rajab, 212, according to another account); cf. *E. of I.*, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir.

<sup>103</sup> Ibn-Taghri-Birdi (ed. Juynboll & Matthes), I, p. 606; cf. Yāqūt, index, p. 667, where Wüstenfeld's reference to *Aghāni*, XV, p. 88, mistakenly interchanged with the Ibn-Taghri-Birdi reference, applies to another Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, al-'Alawī. Ibn-Bayhas (Ibn-Bahīs in Ibn-Khaldūn) is reported to have taken part in the revolt of abu-Ḥarb al-Mubārqa' ("the Veiled") in 227 A.H., and to have been captured and put in jail. Thus he was still active in al-Wāthiq's time; or else the chroniclers have confused the *dramatis personae* of the two rather similar uprisings (Ṭabari, III, pp. 1320, 1322; Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, pp. 372, 376; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, p. 270; cf. *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Wāthiq; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, p. 332). Incidentally, Ibn-Taghri-Birdi calls Ibn-Bayhas *amīr al-gharb*, the exact significance of which in this context escapes me: certainly there can be no connection with northern Morocco, the usual meaning. Probably the term applied to western Syria. Cf. *E. of I.*, s.v. Gharb.

<sup>104</sup> NC, 1921, p. 320.

<sup>105</sup> NZ, 1922, p. 7.



("allerdings etwas später"). But this was very considerably later—in 212.<sup>106</sup> Is it not possible that Porter misread the words beneath the reverse? Otherwise this apparent interruption in Ibn-Bayhas' rule over Damascus is difficult to explain.

The blurred word in the obverse border is probably the same as that which appears on the specimens of the year 200 and that of the year 204, No. 257 *infra*, i.e., **سوك**. I do not know what it signifies. Can it be **تبوك**, Tabūk? Fraehn (Ties., No. 1705), reading it so, admitted that any connection with the famous place by that name was improbable, and suggested the possibility of a moneyer's name. Tabūk lay on the frontier between Arab and Byzantine lands in the early days of Islam, far to the south of Damascus; it was the farthest point to which Muḥammad advanced in the campaign of the year 9 A.H., and it was there that the Prophet won a bloodless victory and arrived at a treaty with the Christians and Jews, setting a precedent of far-reaching significance with respect to the payment of the *jizyah*.<sup>107</sup> I can discover no other possible reading of the legend on the coin and can only suggest that we have here some obscure reference to the surrender of Damascus to Ibn-Bayhas, perhaps because his victory too was bloodless (?).

253. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 199 A.H. = 815 A.D.

بالكوفة سنة تسع وتسعين ومئة

Annulets: ○○○○○○

فاطمي

الاصفر

Margin: انّ الله يحبّ الذين يقتلون

في سبيله صفّا كاتهم بنيا مرصوص

(Qur'ān, LXI, 4)

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 23.5mm., 2.85 grm.

PLATE VIII

<sup>106</sup> Ibn-Khaldūn, III, p. 255. Zambaur (*Manuel*, p. 28) has al-Mu'taṣim as honorary governor of Damascus in 213, and (p. 27) of Egypt in the same year. There is, incidentally, a dinar of Miṣr of the year 214 (*Berlin*, No. 1316), bearing al-Mu'taṣim's name in the form of abu-Ishāq, his *kunya*.

<sup>107</sup> Yāqūt, I, pp. 824-5; *E. of I.*, s.v. Tabūk; cf. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 119.

This remarkable issue has been described more than once,<sup>108</sup> but in view of its curiosity and relative rarity this almost perfectly preserved specimen deserves publication here. Al-Aṣfar (beneath the reverse area) was the fictitious name of al-Sarī b. Maṣṣūr (or Abu'l-Sarāyā), the famous 'Alid brigand whose revolt of ten months disturbed the southern provinces of the empire in the early days of al-Ma'mūn's reign. He called himself *Fāṭimi* because of his claimed 'Alid descent. Of special interest in connection with this issue is the statement in the chronicles that Abu'l-Sarāyā struck dirhams at al-Kūfah.<sup>109</sup> The Qur'ānic quotation reads: "Verily Allāh loves those who fight in his path, ranged in battle-ranks like a compact building."

254. *Al-Rāfiqah*. Year 200 A.H. = 815/6 A.D.  
بالرافقة سنة مئتين



طاهر

Annulets: ○○○ ○ ○○○ ○ ○○○ ○

R. ANS. 25.5mm., 2.90grm.

Al-Rāfiqah is by no means a common dirham mint, except in the year 190 and later in the third century of the Hijrah; I find no published specimens with exact date preserved between the year 193 and the present one; then one in 208;<sup>110</sup> and none again until the year 259. "Ṭāhir" must refer to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (Dhū'l-Yamīnayn), at this time governor of al-Jazīrah and commander-in-chief in Syria.

<sup>108</sup> C.-J. Tornberg, *ZDMG*, XXII, pp. 706-7, XXIII, p. 313; *RNB*, 1870, p. 244; E. von Zambaur, *NZ*, 1905, p. 51, No. 15. Another specimen is listed but not described in Markov, p. 66.

<sup>109</sup> Accounts of the revolt may be read in Ṭabari, III, pp. 976ff.; Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, pp. 212ff., 217ff.; Maṣ'ūdi, *Murūj*, VII, pp. 55ff.; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, pp. 242ff. (especially p. 243, line 7, where the fact of the rebel's striking of dirhams is reported); *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Sarī b. Maṣṣūr; cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, pp. 502-3.

<sup>110</sup> Ulla S. Linder-Welin, *NNA*, 1941, Nos. 681-2, p. 102.

'ABBĀSID SILVER

255. *Al-Kūfah*. Year 201 A.H. = 816/7 A.D.

بالكوفة سنة احدى ومائتين

Annulets: ●○○○●○○○●○○○

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 2.89grm.

The specimen of this year and mint described by Fraehn,<sup>111</sup> differs from the present. Another piece listed by Casanova is not described.<sup>112</sup>

256. *Samarqand*. Year 202 A.H. = 817/8 A.D.

بسمرقند سنة اثني ومائتين

لله

There are several errors or conventionalizations in the inner margin and the last line of the area.

Outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX, 3-4.

محمد رسول الله

المأمون خليفة الله

مما امر به الأمير الرضا

ولي عهد المسلمين على بن

موسى بن على بن ابي طالب

℞. ANS (ex Starosselsky Coll.). 22mm., 2.04grm.

PLATE VIII

The present specimen differs in the arrangement of the lines and in the absence of "al-Mashriq" and of "Dhū'l-Ri'āsatayn" from those cited by Tiesenhausen and that described by Lane-Poole.<sup>113</sup> These remarkable issues of the Eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā as heir apparent of the Arab Empire are well known.<sup>114</sup> Aside from its general historical interest the present coin is an epigraphical document of some importance, for we have here one of the earliest, if not the earliest, instance of the use of Naskhi characters on an Islamic coin. It will be noted that the digit "two" and the genealogy of al-Riḍā from the word 'Alī in the fifth line of the reverse on to the end are engraved in cursive characters, an expedient caused by the reduced size of the coin and the consequent crowding of the long inscription. I do not believe the coin is a counterfeit—at least, if it is a counterfeit, it is a contemporary one, for the obverse outer margin, the reverse margin

<sup>111</sup> Ties., No. 1718.

<sup>112</sup> Casanova, No. 545.

<sup>113</sup> Ties., No. 1730; BM, i, No. 289.

<sup>114</sup> For an account of the circumstances see my *NHR*, pp. 103-4.

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'ABBĀSID SILVER

259. *Madīnat Zaranj. Year 205 A.H. = 820/1 A.D.*

بمدينة زرنج سنة خمس ومائتين

Annulets: ●●●●●●

لله غسان

اعين بن هرثمة

Annulets on double beaded circle between area and margin:



R. ANS. 26mm., 2.87grm.

PLATE IX

This dirham appears to be not only unique, but it is, with the exception of an isolated issue of nearly a century later,<sup>116</sup> the last of the 'Abbāsid Zaranj series of which there are a considerable number between 160 and 204 A.H. The person named above the reverse area is Ghassān b. 'Abbād b. abī'l-Faraj, who, the chronicles record, was lieutenant-governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in this year. Later, from 213-216, he was governor of Sind.<sup>117</sup> To judge by a dirham of Zaranj of the year 204,<sup>118</sup> where I believe Ḥassān has been read for Ghassān, he was already installed in Khurāsān in that year. As for Ā'yan b. Harthamah, the name beneath the reverse area, I do not find him in the Arabic sources. He must have been a son of Harthamah b. Ā'yan, a career governor who served in Egypt, Africa, Mosul and Nisābūr at various times between 178 and 198 A.H.,<sup>119</sup> and whose name appears on coins of Zaranj in 193.<sup>120</sup>

260. *Madīnat Iṣbahān. Year 209 A.H. = 824/5 A.D.*

بمدينة اصبهان سنة تسع ومئتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4-

لله

•

R. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 25mm., 2.81grm.

<sup>116</sup> *Berlin*, No. 1687, year 301.

<sup>117</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 1042-3, 1100, 1105; Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, p. 256; cf. Zambaur (*Manuel*, pp. 48 and 203<sup>2</sup>) who names him as sub-prefect in Nisābūr in 202 and as governor (of Khurāsān?) in 204.

<sup>118</sup> Tornberg, p. 79, No. 311 = Ties., No. 1763.

<sup>119</sup> Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 26, 36, 48, 63.

<sup>120</sup> Ties., No. 1542; *BM*, i, No. 180.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

Zambaur published a specimen of this year and mint but described it only as "type normal,"<sup>121</sup> and a specimen in the British Museum also is not fully described.<sup>122</sup>

261. *Fārs. Year 209 A.H.=824/5 A.D.*

فارس سنة تسع ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4, ending with annulet.

لله  
عيسى

R. GCM (Teheran). 26mm., 2.96grm.

PLATE IX

'Abbāsid coins of Fārs (Fāris) are very scarce. I know of only one issue antedating this, of the year 203 A.H. (several specimens). The symbol on the reverse under *l'llāhi* is puzzling. It appears to start out as a word with the letter 'ayn, but the rest is unintelligible and seems more to resemble a countermark, although it is engraved on the die.

262. *Miṣr. Year 210 A.H.=825/6 A.D.*

بمصر سنة عشر ومئتين

Between the 2nd and 3rd lines

of the area: عبيد الله بن السري

Beneath: المغرب

Annulets: ..... ● ● ● ● ● ●

للخليفة

المأمون

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22.5mm., 2.76grm.

'Ubaydullāh b. al-Sari is the well-known governor of Egypt, 206-211 A.H.

263. *Madīnat Arrān. Year 211 A.H.=826/7 A.D.*

بمدينة اران سنة احدى عشرة ومئتين

Annulets: ○○○○○○

عبد الاعلى بن احمد

محمد رسول الله

مما امر به عبد الله عبد الله

الامام المأمون امير المؤمنين

عبيد الله بن يحيى

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.96grm.

<sup>121</sup> NZ, 1914, p. 119, No. 409.

<sup>122</sup> Allan, NC, 1919, p. 195.

‘ABBĀSID SILVER

The legends on the reverse are the same as those on the dirhams of Arrān dated 210.<sup>123</sup> There appears to be a dirham of the year 211 similar to the present one in the Ermitage.<sup>124</sup>

264. *Armīniyah. Year 218 A.H.=833 A.D.*

بارمينية سنة ثمنية عشرة ومائتين

No annulets.

العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24.5mm., 2.87grm.

This coin is of interest because it differs from the only known Armīniyah dirham of 218.<sup>125</sup> Al-‘Abbās b. Amīr al-Mu‘minīn (very clumsily written) was the son of al-Ma‘mūn, who from the year 213 until his father’s death was governor of ‘Irāq and the northwest frontier lands, and who later rose as pretender against the Caliph al-Mu‘taṣim.<sup>126</sup> His name appears on coins of Arrān in 217 and 218, and also, apparently, on an issue of Armīniyah in 217.<sup>127</sup> The present issue probably antedates the other dirham of Armīniyah of 218 referred to above, which has the name of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khāqān, a completely unknown person who was doubtless lieutenant-governor under al-‘Abbās or else took over the administration upon al-Ma‘mūn’s death.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Ties., No. 1805; BM, i, No. 272.

<sup>124</sup> R. Vasmer, “Chronologie der Statthalter von Armenien . . .”, in *Monumenta Armenologica*, 1927, p. 134, where reference is made to a coin numbered 763A, an accession to the Ermitage since Markov’s *Inventory*. The career of ‘Abd al-Ā’la b. Aḥmad with reference to the coin and to Ya‘qūbi’s account is analyzed in this article.

<sup>125</sup> Allan, NC, 1919, p. 195.

<sup>126</sup> *E. of I.*, s.v. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ma‘mūn, and the authorities cited there.

<sup>127</sup> The Arrān coins cited by Vasmer (*op. cit.* under No. 263 above), p. 136; Armīniyah, 217(?): Markov, p. 877, No. 774a, and Armīniyah, 217 or 227: Linder-Welin, *NNA*, 1941, p. 100, No. 607.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Vasmer, *loc. cit.*: “eine gänzlich unbekannte Persönlichkeit, welche nirgends erwähnt wird und über die, so viel ich weiss, überhaupt nichts bekannt ist.”

265. *Ṣan'ā. Date effaced.*

بصنا سن

Annulets: ..... ۰۰ .....

لله  
ثلث

Margin: Qur'ān XXX, 3-4.

R. GCM. 13.5mm., 0.75gm.

PLATE IX

This exceptional one-third dirham (with the fraction indicated on the reverse) must have been struck toward the end of the second or the beginning of the third century of the Hijrah. The epigraphy is suggestive of the middle second century, but the use of Qur'ān XXX, 3-4, as a marginal legend was not introduced until about the time of al-Ma'mūn.<sup>128a</sup>

An observation of the author of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (372 A.H.)<sup>129</sup> may have some bearing on this fractional dirham: speaking of Zabīd, (the second largest town in the Yaman at that time), he wrote "their 12 dirhams weigh only 1 dirham's weight." The present piece weighs 0.75 grams; twelve of them would have weighed 9.00 grams (probably more, because this specimen is worn), a figure which bears no apparent relation to the standard weight of a dirham. However, the remark may have some obscure reference to these thirds.

266. *Miṣr. Year 223 A.H. = 837/8 A.D.*

بمصر سنة ثلث وعشرين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4.

لله  
المعتصم بالله

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27.5mm., 2.97gm.

Tiesenhausen, No. 1856 of the same mint and date is not described.

<sup>128a</sup> Maqrīzi relates that al-Ma'mūn ordered the striking of *rubā'yāt* ("quarters"): ed. Anastase-Marie de St-Elie (Cairo, 1939), p. 48; cf. Sauvair, *Matériaux*, I, p. 157.

<sup>129</sup> *Op. cit.* under No. 173 above, p. 147.



‘ABBĀSID SILVER

267. *Dimishq. Year 225 A.H.=839/40 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة خمس وعشرين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur’ān XXX,

As above.

3-4

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25.5mm., 3.02gm.

There is one specimen of this issue in the collection of the American University of Beirut, and another apparently (unpublished) in the Istanbul Museum.<sup>180</sup>

268. *Counterfeit. No mint. No date.*

لله	لله (retrograde)
محمد	محمد
مسول	مسول
ملله	الله
ذو الرياسم	المعصر لله
	°°

Obverse and reverse margins appear both to be imitations of Qur’ān IX, 33.

℞. ANS. 28mm., 3.92gm.

PLATE IX

I place this curious contemporary (?) forgery or imitation here because the legend beneath one area is obviously a copy of ذو الرياستين, and that beneath the other appears to be an attempt to reproduce the name of al-Mu’tasim.

269. *Dimishq. Year 228 A.H.=842/3 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ثمان وعشرين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur’ān XXX,

3-4

د(?)

الواق بالله

℞. GCM (Istanbul, 1942). 25mm., 3.02gm.

The one published specimen of this issue is not fully described.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 322; Zambaur, NZ, 1922, p. 8.

<sup>181</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 322.

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270. *Dimishq. Year 230 A.H.=844/5 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ثلثين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,      Apparently nothing above. Beneath, effaced.

3-4

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.90grm.

A specimen of this year also was published by Porter, but not described; Zambaur apparently had one in his collection.<sup>182</sup>

271. *Al-Shāsh. Year 232 A.H.=846/7 A.D.*

بالشاش سنة اثنتين وثلثين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4

لله

الوائق بالله

R. ANS (ex Longworth Dames Coll.). 28.5mm., 3.15grm. (twice pierced)

I have not searched for this issue among the so-called Tāhirid coins, among which it may well have been published.

272. *Surra man-ra'a. Year 235 A.H.=849/50 A.D.*

بسر من رأى سنة خمس وثلثين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4

لله

المتوكل على الله

R. UM. 16mm., 2.92grm.

PLATE IX

There are published specimens of this mint and date, but none, so far as I know, of this small size and engraved in such advanced ornamental Kufic characters.

273. *Surra man-ra'a. Year 236 A.H.=850/1 A.D.*

بسر من رأى سنة ست وثلثين ومائتين

As above.

أبو عبد الله

Outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX,

3-4, ending with 2.

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25mm., 2.93grm. (pierced)

<sup>182</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 322; Zambaur, NZ, 1922, p. 8.

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274. *Iṣbahān. Year 237 A.H.=851/2 A.D.*

باصبهان سنة سبع وثلاثين ومائتين

As above.

As above.

℞. ANS. 27mm., 2.71gm.

275. *Dimishq. Year 240 A.H.=854/5 A.D.*

... شق سنة اربعين ومائتين

Area as above.

As above.

Outer margin: Qur’ān, XXX,

3-4, traces.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.89gm. (frag. lacking)

276. *Surra man-ra’a. Year 243 A.H.=857/8 A.D.*

بسر من راي سنة ثلث واربعين ومائتين

As above.

المعتر بالله

Outer margin: Qur’ān, XXX,

3-4, partly effaced.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 2.92gm. (pierced)

The one published specimen of this mint and date is not described.<sup>183</sup> Like No. 272 above, this coin is of reduced size, but the legends are in the usual unadorned Kufic.

277-278. *Miṣr. Year 243 A.H.=857/8 A.D.*

بمصر سنة ثلث واربعين ومائتين

Area as above.

As above.

Outer margin: Qur’ān, XXX,

3-4, ending with 2.

2 specimens: ℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 26mm.; 2.43gm., 3.04gm. (both specimens are fragmentary and one is broken)

These and the succeeding specimens of Miṣr are corroded and oxidized, and appear to have come from a hoard, probably acquired by Mr. Newell during a visit to Egypt.

<sup>183</sup> Tica., No. 1916.

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279. *Miṣr. Year 244 A.H.=858/9 A.D.*

بمصر سنة اربع واربعين ومائتين

Area as above.

As above.

Outer margin: Qur'ān, XXX,

3-4, partly effaced.

ⲁ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25.5mm., 3.03grm.

280. *Miṣr. Year 247 A.H.=861 A.D.*

بمصر سنة سبع واربعين ومائتين

Area as above.

As above.

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4

ⲁ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 2.90grm.

281-282. *Miṣr. Year 249 A.H.=863/4 A.D.*

بمصر سنة تسع واربعين ومائتين

العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
المستعين بالله

Outer margin as above.

2 specimens: ⲁ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 27mm.; 2.88grm., 2.96grm.

Casanova lists but does not describe a dirham of Miṣr of this date.<sup>184</sup>

283-284. *Miṣr. Year 250 A.H.=864/5 A.D.*

بمصر سنة خمسين ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

2 specimens: ⲁ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 29mm., 28mm.;  
2.87grm., 2.83grm. (frag. of one specimen lacking)

<sup>184</sup> No. 601.

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285. *Madīnat Māh al-Kūfah. Year 251 A.H.=865 A.D.*

بمدينة ما (sic) الكوفة سنة احدى وخمسين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4.

لله  
المعتر بالله  
امير المؤمنين

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 21.5mm., 2.88grm.

A published specimen of this mint and date appears to lack the word *madīnat* and the word *Māh* is, evidently, written correctly.<sup>185</sup> At this time and in the region of *Māh al-Kūfah* the *abu-Dulafids* were issuing coins in their own names, but this appears to be a straight 'Abbāsid issue.<sup>186</sup>

286. *Miṣr. Year 252 A.H.=866 A.D.*

بمصر سنة . . . تين وخمسين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22.5mm., 2.89grm.

Casanova lists, but does not describe, a dirham of *Miṣr* of this date.<sup>187</sup>

287. *Maḳḳah. Year 253 A.H.=867 A.D.*

بمكة سنة ثلث وخمسين ومائتين

Outer margin off the flan, or lacking.

لله  
المستعين بالله

℞ (billon?). ANS (ex Longworth Dames Coll.). 18.5mm., 3.77grm. The coin is of unusual fabric and is worn quite smooth. The reproduction in the plate is from a photograph.

PLATE IX

This is a remarkable coin. Aside from the exceeding rarity of coins struck at Mecca,<sup>188</sup> the date (253), which is unquestionable, in con-

<sup>185</sup> Dorn, *Nova Supplementa*, p. 231, No. 312a = Ties., No. 1952.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Markov, p. 103; Vasmer, *Dva Klada kuficheskikh Monet*, pp. 46ff.

<sup>187</sup> No. 608.

<sup>188</sup> The top of the letter *ḳaf* is off the flan, but I believe there can be little doubt about the reading of the mint. I know of only three other 'Abbāsid coins of Mecca: a dinar dated 25x (al-Mu'tazz) in the Ermitage (Markov, p. 47, No. 847); a dirham of the year 289 (*Berlin*,

junction with the name of the Caliph al-Musta'in, poses a problem. Al-Musta'in was deposed in 251 and was murdered on the 6th of Shawwāl, 252. Two possible explanations of the anomaly readily suggest themselves: either an old reverse die was used, or else the mention of al-Musta'in's name is intentional and reflects an issue of partisanship. The former alternative, especially in view of al-Musta'in's brief rule and of the rare mint, is not very likely. As for the latter I believe that the events of history provide us with the very facts we need to support, if not to prove, the correctness of the suggested explanation.

In the year 251, in consequence of disturbances at Samarra, al-Musta'in had found it necessary to leave that city and to establish himself at Baghdad where, in the last month of the year, he was forced by his cousin al-Mu'tazz to abdicate. According to the terms agreed upon by the two parties, al-Musta'in was guaranteed personal safety and the safety of his family, and he was to remove himself to Mecca, where he was to reside. Actually, according to the chronicles, he never reached Mecca, for he was prevented from going there, and, after a short visit at Wāsiṭ, he was assassinated near Samarra late in 252, as stated above. Now it is not at all improbable that, in conformance with the abdication terms, al-Musta'in's partisans struck coins at Mecca in his name after his abdication, which incidentally he did not announce on his own account until 3 Muḥarram, 252. We may imagine that to them, and probably to al-Musta'in himself, Mecca was not simply a place of exile but a temporary capital. Such an argument would certainly be pertinent in explanation of a coin struck in al-Musta'in's name in 252. But how to explain this posthumous issue of 253? Unless one is prepared to believe—which I am not—that it took more than two months for the news of the murder to reach Mecca, one is still at a loss to solve the riddle. Can it be that we have here a posthumous recognition of al-Musta'in's rights by

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No. 1638; cf. Adolf Erman in *Z. für N.*, 1881, p. 242); and a dinar of the year 325 (O. Codrington, *NC*, 1902, p. 273, where the Berlin specimen of 289 is wrongly described as a dinar).

his supporters; or, alternatively, was this issue struck late in 252 in anticipation of the deposed Caliph's arrival at Mecca early in 253?<sup>139</sup>

288. *Surra man-ra'a*. Year 255 A.H. = 868/9 A.D.

بسر من رای سنة خمس وخمسين ومائتين

عبد الله بن  
امير المؤمنين  
ل

الله  
المعتز بالله  
امير المؤمنين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.88grm.

Tiesenhausen No. 1972, of the same mint and date, is an issue of the succeeding Caliph al-Muhtadi.

289. *Surra man-ra'a*. Year 258 A.H. = 871/2 A.D.

بسر من رای سنة ثمان وخمسين ومائتين

جعفر

الله  
المعتد على الله  
مر

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS. 21.5mm., 2.81grm.

This dirham differs in size (and apparently in the letters beneath the reverse) from two other published specimens.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> The story of al-Musta'in's deposition and death is recounted at some length by Mas'ūdi (*Murūj*, VII, pp. 363-371; see especially p. 367 for the terms of abdication). The official date of the end of al-Musta'in's rule and of the commencement of that of al-Mu'tazz has been a matter of dispute among the Arab historians themselves (cf. Mas'ūdi, VII, p. 368). The usually accepted date for the beginning of al-Mu'tazz's reign is 4 Muḥarram, 252; but there are coins struck by him in 251: e.g., *Paris*, nos. 984-5; *Berlin*, Nos. 1517-8. For other accounts of the events in question see: Ṭabari, III, pp. 1645ff.; Ibn-al-Athīr, VII, pp. 76-7; Ibn-Khaldūn, III, pp. 287-290; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, pp. 396ff.; *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Musta'in and the sources cited there.

<sup>140</sup> C. J. Tornberg, "Die jüngsten Ausgrabungen Arabischen Geldes in Schweden," *ZDMG*, XXII, p. 288, No. 32 = *Ties.*, No. 1994 (p. 306); *Paris*, No. 1029.

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290. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 259 A.H.=872/3 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة تسع وخمسين ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المعتمد على الله

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24.5mm., 3.09grm.

The only other specimen I have noted is not described.<sup>141</sup>

291. *Miṣr. Year 265 A.H.=878/9 A.D.*

بمصر سنة خمس وستين ومائتين

لله  
المعتمد على الله

المفوض الى الله

Outer margin as above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25.5mm., 2.82grm.

292. *Al-Baṣrah. Year 271 A.H.=884/5 A.D.*

بالبصرة سنة احدى وسبعين ومئتين

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
ذو الوزارتين

الناصر لدين الله  
الموفق بالله

Outer margin as above.

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.95grm.

PLATE IX

Al-Muwaffaq is abu-Aḥmad Ṭalḥah, son of al-Mutawakkil and virtual ruler during the Caliphate of his brother al-Mu'tamid. His honorific, "al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh," was given him after his victory over the rebellious Zanj, whose leader was killed on 2 Ṣafar, 270.<sup>142</sup> As for the title "He of the Two Vizierates," beneath the name of the Caliph on the reverse, the reference is to Ṣā'id b. Makhlad, Vizier of al-Mu'tamid.<sup>143</sup> A complete list of published coins bearing his title

<sup>141</sup> Ties., No. 1999.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Ties., No. 2062; Ṭabari, III, pp. 2098, 2118; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, VIII, p. 108; *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Mu'tamid.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Ties., No. 2060; Ṭabari, index; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, VIII, pp. 39, 61-3. Zambaur



may be found in an article by Richard Vasmer;<sup>144</sup> it does not include this Baṣrah issue of the year 271.

293. *Fārs (?)*. Year 273 A.H. = 886/7 A.D.  
فارس (?) سنة ثلث وسبعين ومئتين

المفوض الى الله (?)

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
احمد بن الموفق بالله

Outer margin: traces of Qur'ān  
XXX, 3-4.

R. GCM. 21mm., 2.86grm.

Blurred letters make the reading of the mint and of the name beneath the obverse somewhat problematical. Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq (on the reverse) is, of course, the heir apparent, later the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid. If the mint is, as I believe, Fārs, the coin is an interesting document, for there is another issue of the same year and mint, bearing the names of the Ṣaffārids, 'Amru b. al-Layth and Muḥammad b. 'Amru.<sup>145</sup>

These coins, and others of proximate dates and the same area, are a reflection of the political situation in central and southern Persia at the time. It was in Shawwāl of the year 271 that the Caliph al-Mu'tamid announced the deposition of 'Amru b. al-Layth as governor of Khurāsān,<sup>146</sup> an official pronouncement which, however, called for energetic and prolonged action before it took effect, since 'Amru was well entrenched.<sup>147</sup> The confused circumstances, with particular reference to the coins, has been examined in minute detail by Vasmer in his article on the Ṣaffārid coinage cited under No. 292

(*Manuel*, Table G, note 87) is in error in attributing this title to al-Muwaffaq. Also he omits Ṣā'id from his list of Viziers (p. 7).

<sup>144</sup> "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḥurāsān," *NZ*, 1930, pp. 141-2, note 2.

<sup>145</sup> *Constantinople*, II, No. 608; Tornberg, p. 149, No. 14; Markov, p. 105, No. 9, and another (No. 9a); Østrup, No. 759a.

<sup>146</sup> Ṭabari, III, p. 2106; Ibn-Khallikān, transl. de Slane, IV, p. 324.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Theodor Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History* (1892), pp. 198-9.

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above.<sup>148</sup> Ṭabari's and Ibn-al-Athīr's accounts of 'Amru's defeat at the hands of the abu-Dulafid Aḥmad b. 'Abd. al-'Azīz differ, the former placing the event on the 16th of Rabī' I, 273, and the latter on the 10th of Rabī' I, 271. At all events there is an 'Abbāsīd coin of the Fārs mint—that is, lacking 'Amru's name—dated 272,<sup>149</sup> although another coin of the same mint and date, as well as Shīrāz issues of 272, are Ṣaffārid.<sup>150</sup> The present coin (if, as I say, the mint is Fārs) is another illustration of the same "in-and-out" situation which quite understandably confused the historians. A further example is No. 295 below.

294. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 274 A.H.=887/8 A.D.*

بالرافقة سنة اربع و . . . ين ومائتين

المفوض الى الله

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
احمد بن الموفق  
بالله

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 4.98grm.

I have not met with a published dirham of al-Rāfiqah of this date; there are, however, a number of dinars, both 'Abbāsīd and Ṭulūnid.<sup>151</sup> This issue is clearly 'Abbāsīd.

295. *Fārs. Year 274 A.H.=887/8 A.D.*

فارس سنة اربع وسبعين ومائتين

الناصر لدين الله  
الموفق بالله

لله  
المعتمد على الله  
احمد بن الموفق بالله

Outer margin as above.

R. ANS. 25mm., 3.30grm.

<sup>148</sup> NZ, 1930, pp. 141ff. To bring Vasmer's corpus of pertinent coins up to date, consult Ulla S. Linder-Welin, *NNA*, 1941, p. 114, containing the only important additions to Vasmer's exhaustive compendium.

<sup>149</sup> Tornberg, *ZDMG*, XXII, p. 288, No. 39.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 142, Nos. 30-32.

<sup>151</sup> E.g., *Paris, Khedivial Library* (cf. E. T. Rogers, *The Coins of the Ṭulūni Dynasty*, p. 18, No. 38), University Museum Collection (all 'Abbāsīd); *Paris*, publ. by R. Cotteville-Giraudet, *RN*, 1935, p. 35, No. 2 (Ṭulūnid).

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Here is another 'Abbāsīd dirham of Fārs, reflecting the vicissitudes of the Ṣaffārīd's career (cf. No. 293 above). It was in 274 A.H. (18th of Rabī' I) that al-Muwaffaq himself led the army against 'Amru b. al-Layth and drove him out of Fārs and on to Kirmān and beyond to Sijistān.<sup>152</sup> Other specimens of this issue are known.<sup>153</sup>

296. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 274 A.H. = 887/8 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة اربع وسبعين ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS. 25.5mm., 4.42grm.

This specimen differs from one published by Tornberg,<sup>154</sup> in that it lacks the words at the sides of the obverse and reverse areas.

297. *Al-Shāsh. Year 276 A.H. = 889/90 A.D.*

بالشاش سنة ست وسبعين ومائتين

الموفق بالله

Outer margin: traces of Qur'ān  
XXX, 3-4.

لله

المعتضد بالله

Word or letters at bottom effaced.

R. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 26mm., 2.84grm.

PLATE IX

This is a very curious coin, differing in a remarkable manner from the known issue of al-Shāsh of the same year.<sup>155</sup> It is dated 276 and yet it bears the name of al-Mu'taḍid who did not succeed to the Caliphate until 279 A.H. Another dirham of al-Shāsh, of the year 269, presents this same anomaly.<sup>156</sup> Either the coin is a hybrid, that is an old obverse die was used with a reverse of al-Mu'taḍid's during his Caliphate (279-289 A.H.), or else abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad (son of al-Muwaffaq, whose name appears on the obverse) received the title of al-Mu'taḍid before his succession. The first alternative is certainly un-

<sup>152</sup> Ṭabari III, p. 2113, Ibn-al-Athīr, VII, p. 298; cf. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>153</sup> Markov, p. 48, No. 871; one uncatalogued in Berlin; Linder-Welin, *NNA*, 1941, p. 106, Nos. 1161-2; cf. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 143, No. 34.

<sup>154</sup> P. 100, No. 422 = Ties., No. 2082.

<sup>155</sup> Tornberg, p. 102, No. 429, with the name of al-Mu'tamid = Ties., No. 2093.

<sup>156</sup> Tornberg, *Symbolae*, IV, No. 21 = Ties., No. 2115.

likely. The second seems the more plausible, although I fail to find the historical evidence to support it. However, the explanation must lie somewhere in the abnormal state of affairs during al-Mu'tamid's reign: al-Muwaffaq, as noted under No. 292 above, was in effect the ruler, but in the last two years of al-Muwaffaq's life (he died 27 Šafar, 278), al-Mu'taḍid became the virtual sovereign.<sup>157</sup> On the present issue, as well as on the one of 269 mentioned above, one might say that this reality is officially recognized, at least in Shāsh, for al-Mu'taḍid's name appears in the position usually reserved for the Caliph. It might be argued that it was during the course of this year that the change of allegiance in the East was made, the present issue presumably being a later striking than that with al-Mu'tamid's name. But what of the more serious anomaly of Tornberg's coin of the year 269?

298. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 287 A.H.=900 A.D.*  
بالاهواز سنة سبع وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,  
3-4.

لله  
المعتضد بالله

Large central pellet.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.47grm.

299. *Mint effaced. Year 287? A.H.=900 A.D.*  
... سنة سبع وثمانين وما (?)

الله  
المعتضد بالله  
ابو ابراهيم

ابو جعفر

No outer margin?

℞. ANS (ex Longworth Dames Coll.). 24mm., 3.00grm.

PLATE IX

This is a very crudely executed coin with coarse and semi-literate characters. The date, aside from being badly worn, is curiously writ-

<sup>157</sup> *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Mu'taḍid, and the sources cited there; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, VIII, p. 108.

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ten; and the *dal* of the Caliph's name is turned backward somewhat like a cursive *kaf*, but I believe that it can only be al-Mu'taḍid. Abu-Ja'far and abu-Ibrāhīm, whose names appear on the obverse and reverse respectively, are unidentified. The coin must be an unauthorized issue, but the solution of its political context must await the publication of a specimen with mint preserved.

300. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 289 A.H.=901/2 A.D.*  
بالاهواز سنة تسع وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,  
3-4.

لله  
المعتضد بالله

R. ANS. 25mm., 4.75grm.

This dirham must have been struck during the first four months of the year, for al-Muktafi's succession to the Caliphate occurred on 22 Rabī' II, 289.<sup>158</sup>

301. *Iṣbahān. Year 289 A.H.=902 A.D.*  
باصبهان سنة تسع وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

لله  
المكتفي بالله

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.32grm.

A specimen of this year and mint in the Leggett Collection has been published but not fully described.<sup>159</sup>

302. *Wāsiṭ. Year 289 A.H.=902 A.D.*  
بواسط سنة تسع وثمانين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS. 25mm., 2.97grm.

All the published specimens of this date and mint which I have noticed are issues of al-Mu'taḍid.

<sup>158</sup> There are dirhams of al-Muktafi's struck at al-Ahwāz in the same year, e.g., Ties., No. 2169.

<sup>159</sup> Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* IV, NC, 1886, p. 229.

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303. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 290 A.H.=902/3 A.D.*

بلاهور سنة تسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.07grm.

There is a specimen, probably similar, in the British Museum.<sup>160</sup>

304. *Al-Basrah. Year 290 A.H.=902/3 A.D.*

بالصرة سنة تسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS. 26mm., 2.96grm.



A specimen in the Leggett Collection has been published but not fully described, and there is another in the British Museum.<sup>161</sup>

305. *Dimishq. Year 292 A.H.=904/5 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة اثنين وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

The *qaf* of the word *Dimishq* terminates with a floral flourish, thus ; and the *fa-ya* of al-Muktafi's name thus: .

R. ANS. 25mm., 3.03grm.

PLATE IX

There is a dirham of *Dimishq* of this year in the Berlin Collection,<sup>162</sup> but Nützel did not make note of the ornamental letters, if indeed they are present on that coin.

306. *Armīniyah. Year 293 A.H.=905/6 A.D.*

بارمينية سنة ثلث وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25.5mm., 3.88grm.

The date of the one published specimen of this issue which I have noticed is written differently.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197.

<sup>161</sup> Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* IV, *NC*, 1886, p. 229; Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197.

<sup>162</sup> No. 1620.

<sup>163</sup> Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 19,\*\* No. 316=Ties., No. 2193.

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307. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 294 A.H.=906/7 A.D.*

بسوق الاهواز سنة اربع وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS. 24mm., 3.49gm.

There was a specimen in the Leggett Collection, not fully described.<sup>164</sup>

308. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 295 A.H.=907/8 A.D.*

بالاهواز سنة خمس وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26.5mm., 2.98gm. (formerly ringed).

There is a specimen in the Beirut Collection, not fully described.<sup>165</sup>

309. *No Mint. No date (late 3rd c. Hijrah?).*

One marginal legend only:

Qur'ān XXX, 3-4, as far as  
المؤ.

Margin: Qur'ān IX, 33, appar-

ently as far as على الدين

R. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 12mm., 0.87gm. (formerly ringed).

PLATE IX

I place this minute fractional dirham at the end of the third century of the Hijrah because of the style of epigraphy. It might date anywhere from the middle third to the early fourth century.

310. *Dimishq. Year 296 A.H.=908/9 A.D.*

بدمشق سنة ست وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4.

له

المقتدر بالله

R.ANS. 27mm., 2.86gm.

<sup>164</sup> Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* IV, NC, 1886, p. 229.

<sup>165</sup> Porter, NC, 1921, p. 324.

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311. *Dimishq. Year 297 A.H.=909/10 A.D.*

... شق سنة سبع وتسعين ومائتين

Outer margin as above.

As above.

Large central pellet.

R. ANS. 24mm., 3.04grm.

312. *Wāsiṭ. Year 297 A.H.=909/10 A.D.*

بواسط سنة سبع وتسعين ومائتين

أبو العباس بن  
أمير المؤمنين

لله

المقدر بالله

Outer margin as above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28.5mm., 3.21grm.

A specimen published by Lane-Poole is not described.<sup>166</sup>

313. *Al-Kūfah. Year 298 A.H.=910/1 A.D.*

بالكوفة سنة ثمان وتسعين ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS. 27mm., 2.33grm.

A specimen published by Lane-Poole is not described.<sup>167</sup>

314. *Jannābā. Year 299 A.H.=911/2 A.D.*

بجنا بآ سنة تسع ... ن ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.89grm.

PLATE IX

This is, I believe, the earliest known 'Abbāsīd issue of the very rare mint of Jannābā, the important port in Fārs on the Persian Gulf.<sup>168</sup> Earlier Ṣaffārid issues are known, but so far as I am aware the only

<sup>166</sup> *Fasti Arabici* VII, "Mr. J. M. C. Johnston's Cabinet," NC, 1892, p. 162.

<sup>167</sup> *Fasti Arabici* IV, NC, 1886, p. 229.

<sup>168</sup> Yāqūt, II, p. 122, spelled Jannabah. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 273-4. A specimen was listed by Allan in NC, 1919, p. 197.



# ‘ABBĀSID SILVER

recorded ‘Abbāsīd specimens are dirhams of the years 304, 306 and 314.<sup>169</sup>

315. *Sinjār. Year 299 A.H.=911/2 A.D.*  
 . . . . . جار سنة تسع وتسعين ومائتين

Area and outer margin as above. As above.

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26mm., 2.56grm. (frag. lacking)

PLATE IX

Sinjār also is a very rare ‘Abbāsīd mint, and this is, I believe, the earliest known year. A specimen of the year 300 was published by Lane-Poole in 1892, and another by Allan.<sup>170</sup>

316-317. *Al-Baṣrah. Year 300 A.H.=912/3 A.D.*  
 بالبصرة سنة ثلث مائة

Area and margin as above. As above.

2 specimens: ℞. ANS. 26.5mm., 2.90grm.;  
 GCM (Teheran, 1936). 26mm., 2.70grm.

A specimen of the same mint and date is in the Beirut Collection.<sup>171</sup>

318. *Shirāz. Year 300 A.H.=912/3 A.D.*  
 بشيراز سنة ثلثمائة

Area and outer margin as above. As above.

℞. ANS. 26mm., 2.90grm.

A specimen, not fully described, was published by Lane-Poole.<sup>172</sup>

319. *Wāsiṭ. Year 301 A.H.=913/4 A.D.*  
 بواسط سنة احدى وثلثمائة

Area and outer margin as above. As above.

℞. ANS. 27mm., 3.67grm.

Specimens in the Ermitage and the Beirut Collections are not fully described.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>169</sup> *Paris*, No. 1153; Zambaur, *NZ*, 1905, p. 54, No. 22; *Berlin*, No. 1679. Zambaur's good summary of reasons for the identification of the mint, together with a list of the Ṣaffārid and Būyid issues of Jannābā, is to be found in *NZ*, 1906, pp. 192-4.

<sup>170</sup> Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* VII, *NC*, 1892, p. 162; Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197.

<sup>171</sup> Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 325.

<sup>172</sup> *Fasti Arabici* VII, *NC*, 1892, p. 162.

<sup>173</sup> Markov, p. 51, No. 939; Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 326.

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320. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 302 A.H.=914/5 A.D.*

بلاهور سنة اثنتين وثلاث

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المقدر بالله

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25.5mm., 3.05grm.

321. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 303 A.H.=915/6 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ثلث وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المقدر بالله

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 27mm., 2.91grm.

This specimen differs from published varieties in its lack of pellets.<sup>174</sup>

322. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 304 A.H.=916/7 A.D.*

بلاهور سنة اربع وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

Pellet (?) beneath *ba* of *arb'*.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1936). 28mm., 1.80grm.

This specimen is probably similar to one in the Beirut Collection, which, however, is not fully described.<sup>175</sup>

323. *Wāsiṭ. Year 304 A.H.=916/7 A.D.*

بواسط سنة اربع وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS. 29mm., 2.84grm.

324-326. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 305 A.H.=917/8 A.D.*

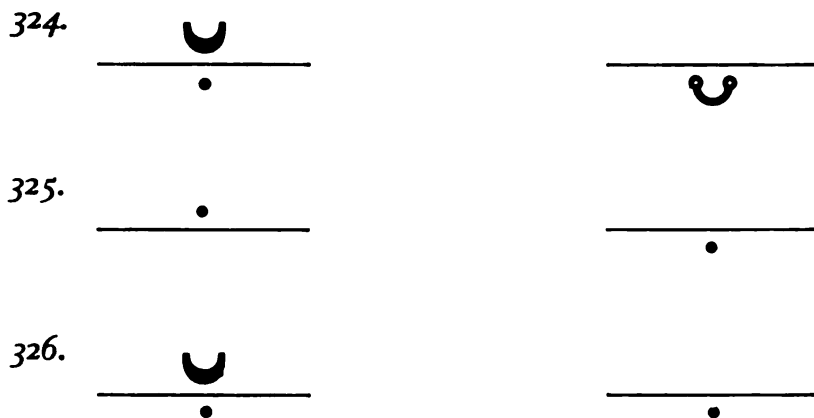
بمدينة السلام سنة خمس وثلاثمائة

Three specimens with the usual areas and outer margin, and differing only in the following ornaments:

<sup>174</sup> Ties., Nos. 2246-7; *Khedivial Library*, No. 678; Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 326; Casanova, No. 759 (not described).

<sup>175</sup> Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 325.

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℞. ANS. 26mm., 25mm., 25mm.; 2.98grm., 3.24grm., 3.13grm.

These dirhams appear to differ in ornamental detail from published varieties.<sup>176</sup>

327. *Iṣbahān*. Year 306 A.H. = 918/9 A.D.

باصبهان سنة ست وثلاثمائة

<hr/> ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين	<hr/> لله المقتدر بالله
--------------------------------------	----------------------------

Outer margin: Qur'ān XXX,

3-4.

℞. GCM (Teheran, 1936). 28mm., 2.73grm. (frag. lacking)

328-329. *Ḥarrān*. Year 306 A.H. = 918/9 A.D.

بحران سنة ست وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

2 specimens: ℞. ANS (ex Newell and Wood Coll.).  
27mm., 24mm.; 2.88grm., 4.03grm.

A specimen apparently similar to these is listed by Zambaur.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Ties, Nos. 2258-9 (also p. 307); *Paris*, No. 1191; *Berlin*, Nos. 1729-30; *Constantinople*, No. 652; *Casanova*, Nos. 761-2 (not described).

<sup>177</sup> NZ, 1914, p. 120, No. 415.

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330. *Shīrāz. Year 306 A.H.=918/9 A.D.*

بشیراز سنة ست وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS. 26mm., 3.12grm.

There is a specimen of this issue in the British Museum.<sup>178</sup>

331. *Al-Kūfah. Year 306 A.H.=918/9 A.D.*

بالكوفة سنة ست وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. W. L. Clark (New York). 26mm., 2.91grm.

332. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 306 A.H.=918/9 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ست وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله  
ح

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 3.56grm.

In all probability this specimen is identical with one published by Bartholomaei, where the symbol beneath the reverse is differently interpreted.<sup>179</sup>

333. *Anṭākiyah. Year 308 A.H.=920/1 A.D.*

بانطاكية سنة ثمان وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 3.60grm.

A specimen of this mint and date is mentioned by Bartholomaei,<sup>180</sup> but it is not described.

<sup>178</sup> Allan, *NC*, 1919, p. 197.

<sup>179</sup> Ties., No. 2268.

<sup>180</sup> "Quatrième lettre . . . à M. F. Soret," *RNB*, 1864, p. 331, footnote=Ties., No. 2904. "Amir ed-dauleh" in Bartholomaei's note must be 'Amīd al-Dawlah.

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334. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 308 A.H. = 920/1 A.D.*

بالرافقة سنة ثمان وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26mm., 2.76gm.

335. *Surra man-ra'a. Year 309 A.H. = 921/2 A.D.*

بسر من راي سنة تسع وثلاثمائة

As above.

•

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25mm., 2.83gm.

A specimen is listed but not described by Casanova.<sup>181</sup>

336. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 310 A.H. = 922/3 A.D.*

بالرافقة سنة عشر . . .

As above.

ابو العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

Outer margin as above.

℞. UM. 26.5mm., 3.81gm. (pierced)

A specimen apparently similar to this is listed by Zambaur.<sup>182</sup>

337. *Filasṭīn. Year 311 A.H. = 923/4 A.D.*

للسطين سنة احدى عشرة وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 2.68gm.

PLATE IX

Filasṭīn is an excessively rare ‘Abbāsid dirham mint; before the recent publication by N. G. Nassar of specimens of the years 264, 277, 293 and 323(?), I was aware of specimens of only three other years, 317, 320 and 322 A.H.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>181</sup> No. 745.

<sup>182</sup> NZ, 1914, p. 120, No. 416.

<sup>183</sup> BM, ix, p. 79, No. 436<sup>m</sup>, Berlin, Nos. 1709, 1822-3; *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XIII, Nos. 3-4 (1948), pp. 124-5.

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338. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 311 A.H.=923/4 A.D.*  
بمدينة السلام سنة احدى عشرة وثلثمائة

As above.

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS (ex Greenwood Coll.). 26mm., 2.33gm.

None of the published varieties appears to have the pellet.<sup>184</sup>

339. *Al-Rāfiqah. Year 313 A.H.=925/6 A.D.*  
بالرافقة سنة ثلث عشرة وثلثمائة

<hr/> ابو العباس بن امير المؤمنين	<hr/> لله المقتدر بالله ••
--------------------------------------	----------------------------------

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS. 25mm., 2.28gm.

There are two other specimens of this issue, but one lacks the pellets on the reverse, and the other is not described.<sup>185</sup>

340. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 313 A.H.=925/6 A.D.*  
بمدينة السلام سنة ثلث عشرة وثلثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

<hr/> لله المقتدر بالله •
---------------------------------

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 2.82gm.

The reverse of this specimen differs from the known varieties.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Ties., No. 2300 (and p. 307); *Paris*, No. 1197; *Berlin*, Nos. 1736-7; *Constantinople*, No. 658; Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* VI, NC, 1887, p. 333; Casanova, No. 769 (not described).

<sup>185</sup> *Berlin*, No. 1686; Porter, NC, 1921, p. 325.

<sup>186</sup> Ties., Nos. 2312-13 (also p. 307); *Berlin*, Nos. 1739-40; *Constantinople*, No. 661; Lane-Poole, *Fasti Arabici* VI, NC, 1887, p. 333; Casanova, Nos. 770-1 (not described).

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341. *Sūq al-Ahwāz*. Year 314 A.H.=926/7 A.D.

بسوق الاهواز سنة اربع عشرة وثلثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله  
•

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24.5mm., 3.17grm.

342. *Wāsiṭ*. Year 314 A.H.=926/7 A.D.

بواسط سنة اربع عشرة وثلثمائة

Area as above, but pellet above

ha of *ilaha*.

Outer margin as above.

لله  
المقتدر بالله

℞. ANS. 25mm., 2.84grm. (ringed)

This specimen differs from published varieties in respect of the obverse pellet.<sup>187</sup>

343-344. *Shirāz*. Year 317 A.H.=929/30 A.D.

بشيراز سنة سبع عشرة وثلثمائة

As above.

ابو العباس بن  
امير المؤمنين

Outer margin as above.

2 specimens: ℞. ANS. 26mm., 25mm.; 4.00grm., 2.66grm.

These are doubtless similar to that mentioned by Tiesenhhausen in the Murom find.<sup>188</sup>

345. *Hamadhān*. Year 315 A.H.=927/8 A.D.

بهمدان سنة خمس عشرة وثلثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. GCM (Tchcran, 1935). 27mm., 2.30grm.

<sup>187</sup> Ties., No. 2327; *Berlin*, No. 1771(?); Zambaur, NZ, 1905, p. 61, No. 36; Casanova, No. 787(?) (not described).

<sup>188</sup> NZ, 1871, p. 177, No. 14 = Ties., No. 2918.

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'Abbāsīd dirhams of Hamadan are very rare. I know of only one other date in the fourth century of the Hijrah, 307.<sup>189</sup>

346. *Anṭākiyah. Year 318 A.H.=930 A.D.*

بانطاكية سنة ثمان عشرة وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

As above.

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 28mm., 3.48grm.

PLATE X

A specimen published by Bartholomaei is not completely described.<sup>190</sup>

347. *Madinat al-Salām. Year 318 A.H.=930 A.D.*

بمدينة السلام سنة ثمان عشرة وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

الله  
المقتدر بالله  
•

℞. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26mm., 4.18grm.

With the exception of one specimen in Berlin, the published varieties of this year lack the pellet on the reverse; and the Berlin specimen has a pellet on the obverse as well.<sup>191</sup>

348-349. *No mint. No date (Al-Muqtadir, 295-320 A.H.=908-932 A.D.).*

Nandi, sacred bull of Śiva, reclining left; above, الله  
المقتدر بالله.

Horseman, in coat of mail (?), helmeted, riding horse to left; above, الله جعفر.

2 specimens: ℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 19mm.; 4.05grm. (fitted for ring), 3.42grm.

This remarkable type has been discussed under No. 199, above, a dinar of the same design. The present specimens, both from the

<sup>189</sup> Berlin, No. 1772.

<sup>190</sup> Ties., No. 2350.

<sup>191</sup> Ties., No. 2345; *BM*, ix, p. 79, No. 446<sup>a</sup>; *Berlin*, Nos. 1748-9; *Paris*, No. 1204; *Constantinople*, No. 669; *Casanova*, No. 774 (not described).



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same set of dies, appear to be from the identical dies used in striking the specimen in the National Museum in Damascus.<sup>192</sup>

350. *Al-Baṣrah. Year 321 A.H.=933 A.D.*  
بالبصرة سنة احدى وعشرين وثلاثمائة

ابو القاسم بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
القاهر بالله

Outer margin: Qur’ān XXX,  
3-4.

℞. ANS. 27mm., 2.74grm.

A single specimen, published by Fraehn, is fragmentary.<sup>193</sup>

351. *Al-Ahwāz. Year 322 A.H.=933/4 A.D.*  
بالاهواز سنة اثنتين وعشرين وثلاثمائة

Area and outer margin as above.

لله  
محمد رسول الله  
لله القاهر بالله  
المنتقم من اعداء  
الله لدين الله

℞. ANS. 24mm., 3.10grm.

PLATE X

A similar specimen was published by Soret,<sup>194</sup> but with an incomplete description. The bibliography of comment on the extraordinary reverse legend, which occurs on some other coins of al-Qāhir’s as well, may be found in Tiesenhausen.<sup>195</sup> The title refers to the execution of the famous general Mu’nis in the year 321; in recognition of the deed the Caliph called himself “He who avenges the religion of Allāh upon the enemies of Allāh.” The historians word it somewhat

<sup>192</sup> Émir Djafar Abdel-Kader, in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, I (Paris, 1939), pl. I (opp. p. 400), No. 16.

<sup>193</sup> Ties., No. 2368.

<sup>194</sup> “Lettre à Fraehn,” *Mém. Soc. Imp. d’Archéologie*, St. Petersburg, 1851, No. 27 = Ties., No. 2380.

<sup>195</sup> No. 2374.

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differently, but they correctly record that al-Qāhir placed the honorific upon his coins.<sup>196</sup>

352. *Al-Rāfiqah*. Year 323 A.H.=934/5 A.D.

بألرافة سنة ثلث وعش . . . مائة

Outer margin as above.

لله  
الراضى بالله

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 28mm., 3.39grm.

This specimen differs from two published ones in that it lacks the ornament in the obverse area.<sup>197</sup>

353. *Ṭarsūs*. Year 323 A.H.=934/5 A.D.

بطرسوس سنة ثلث وعشرين وثلثمائة

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24mm., 3.01grm.

PLATE X

This coin is unique. Ṭarsūs is an exceedingly rare mint. I know of only four other dirhams,<sup>198</sup> two dinars,<sup>199</sup> and a few *fulūs*.

354. *Halab* (?). Year 32x A.H.=934-940 A.D.

بحلب (?) سنة . . . شرين وثلثمائة

Outer margin as above.

As above.

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27.5mm., 3.35grm.

Halab also is a very rare 'Abbāsīd mint, although under later rulers it is of course among the commonest. The epigraphy of the mint name is somewhat obscure on this specimen. The fact that this coin is 'Abbāsīd, rather than Ikhshidid, would indicate that it was struck

<sup>196</sup> E.g., Abu'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn-Taghri-Birdi (ed. Juynboll & Matthes), II, p. 254: وعظم في القلوب وزيد في القابه المنتقم من اعداء دين الله وتقت ذلك على

السكة. <sup>197</sup> Ties., No. 2930, BM, i, No. 464.

<sup>198</sup> 302(?) A.H.: Porter, NC, 1921, p. 326; 312 A.H.: Berlin, No. 1707; 31x A.H.: Berlin, No. 1708; 333 A.H.: Lane-Poole, NC, 1887, p. 333. I suspect that the present coin is the same piece as that listed in Schulman's auction catalogue of March 30, 1914 (no. 1808), purchased by Mr. Newell.

<sup>199</sup> 308 A.H.: Johnston, NC, 1899, p. 266; 313 A.H.: Berlin, No. 1646.

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between 322 and 324 or between 327 and 329, for there were Ikhshidid governors at Ḥalab during the other years of al-Rāḍi's reign.<sup>200</sup> I am not aware of any Ikhshidid coins of Aleppo, although there were issues struck by the Ikhshidids at Damascus and Ṭabarīyah.

355. *Niṣībīn*. Year 32x A.H. = 934-940 A.D.

بنصيبين سنة . . . وعشرين وثلاثمائة

As above.

ابو الفضل بن  
امير المؤمنين

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 25mm., 3.96grm.

This dirham is unusual in that apparently all other Niṣībīn issues of al-Rāḍi lack the name of abu'l-Faḍl.

356. *Al-Baṣrah*. Year 32(9) A.H. = 940/1 A.D.

بالبصر . . . شرين وثلاثمائة

ابو المنصور بن  
امير المؤمنين

لله  
المتقى لله

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 24.5mm., 3.92grm.

Tiesenhhausen no. 2440, originally wrongly attributed to al-Rāḍi, is apparently similar to this specimen. The missing digit must be 9, because that year is the only year of the third decade in which al-Muttaqi ruled.

357. *Madīnat al-Salām*. Year 330 A.H. = 941/2 A.D.

بمدينة السلام سنة ثلثين وثلاثمائة

Outer margin as above.

لله  
الراضى بالله

℞. ANS. 29.5mm., 2.93grm.

PLATE X

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 32.

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The anomaly of al-Rāḍi's name on a coin of the year 330 must be explained as an instance of the use of an old reverse die in striking a coin of al-Muttaqi's.

358. *Al-Raḥbah*. Year 323(*sic*) = 333(?) A.H. = 944 A.D.

بالرحبة سنة ثلث وعشرين وثلثمائة

Outer margin as above.

الله  
المتقى لله

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 2.52gm.

PLATE X

This is a remarkable coin in several respects. In the first place the date is clearly written 323, but al-Muttaqi's rule did not begin until Rabī' I, 329 A.H. Two explanations are possible: either an old obverse die was used with a reverse of al-Muttaqi's, or else the die-engraver made a mistake in writing the decade. The latter alternative seems the more likely.<sup>201</sup>

Another remarkable feature of the coin is the mint, al-Raḥbah, which is exceedingly rare. I know only of the specimen referred to in the foot-note above, one of the year 322, in Beirut,<sup>202</sup> and one dated 350.<sup>203</sup> Al-Raḥbah is probably the well-known place by that name, usually called Raḥbat al-Shām or Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates not far from Qarqisiya and to be identified with the town of al-Miyādīn of today. The sudden, and brief, appearance of al-Raḥbah as a mint is probably connected with the 'Abbāsid reconquest of the town in 330 from the Qarmaṭids, who had taken possession of it in 316 A.H.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Another specimen of this year and mint, but with the name of al-Rāḍi, has been published: Tornberg, *Symbolae* IV, No. 45 = Ties., No. 2410.

<sup>202</sup> Porter, *NC*, 1921, p. 326.

<sup>203</sup> Zambaur, *NZ*, 1922, p. 12. The location of this specimen is not indicated.

<sup>204</sup> Ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, p. 132. A full description of this locality, together with an extensive bibliography, is given by E. Honigmann in *E. of I.*, s.v. al-Raḥba.

'ABBĀSID SILVER

359. *Anṭākiyah. Year 337 A.H.=948/9 A.D.*

بانطاكية سنة سبع وثلاثين وثلاثمائة

Outer margin as above.

له (?)  
المطيع لله

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 4.42grm.

This dirham is poorly struck. The decade is a little doubtful but is probably correctly read. This and the coin described immediately below are the last known 'Abbāsid issues of the very rare mint of Antioch.

360. *Anṭākiyah. Year 339(?) A.H.=950/1 A.D.*

بانطاكية سنة تسعين (?) وثلاثين (?) وثلاثمائة

له  
المطيع لله

الحق [1] لمبين

Outer margin as above.

℞. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 27mm., 4.46grm.

PLATE X

This is a very crudely executed coin with respect to both die-engraving and striking. The date is enigmatically written, the digit appearing to read "ninety" and the decade obscure. The legend beneath the obverse, "the Evident Truth," is unusual, and I can offer no explanation of its significance. The phrase occurs in the Qur'ān,<sup>205</sup> but I do not know of its occurrence on coins except on some of much later date.<sup>206</sup> Might it have some reference to the Shi'ite controversy which was particularly bitter during al-Muṭī's reign?

<sup>205</sup> XXIV, 25; XXVII, 81.

<sup>206</sup> Sharīfs of Morocco, *e.g.*, *BM*, v, Nos. 265ff. Since this was written, another contemporary numismatic use of the phrase has come to my attention: on a Fāṭimid dinar of al-Manṣūrīyah, 342 A.H. (J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies Fātimides du Musée du Bardo (Premier Supplément)," *Revue Tunisienne*, 1948, no. 15). The implication of a Fāṭimid influence at Antioch suggests an interesting field of inquiry.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

361. *No mint. No date. Al-Nāṣir, 575-622 A.H. = 1180-1225 A.D.*

Within double square, outer  
beaded:

الإمام النا  
ضر لدين  
الله

In segments:

... | لا اله الا الله | ...

As obverse:

الإمام النا  
ضر لدين  
الله

In segments:

... | لله | ... | وحده

R. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 15.5mm., 1.24gm.

A somewhat similar fractional dirham with a different reverse is in the British Museum.<sup>207</sup> The style of the coin is distinctly Ayyūbid.

362. *Madīnat al-Salām. Year 640 A.H. = 1242 A.D.*

Within square:

لا اله الا  
الله محمد  
رسول الله

In segments:

ضرب بمدينة | السلام سنة | اربعين | وستماتة

Within square:

الإمام  
المستنصر  
بالله امير  
المؤمنين

In segments:

نصر من | الله | وفتح | قريب

R. ANS. 15mm., 0.75gm.

PLATE X

This fractional dirham appears to be unique, although larger dirhams of the same general style are known.

<sup>207</sup> BM, ix, p. 84, No. 495p.

'ABBĀSID COPPER

C. COPPER<sup>207a</sup>

With Names of Mints

*Adhanah*

363. *Adhanah. Year 19x A.H. = 806-815 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله عمل  
ادته

بسم  
محمد رسول  
الله مما امر به  
احمد بن هرون

Margin:

بسم الله . . . فليس سنة . . . وتسعين ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 26mm., 5.80grm.

PLATE X

Adhanah is a "new" mint. It is the Arab Adhanah on the Sayḥān, the important Turkish city of Adana of today, the ancient Cilician τὰ Ἀδανα on the River Saros, the Seleucid mint of Antiocheia ad Sarum.<sup>208</sup> In fabric and style the coin resembles published coppers from neighbouring al-Maṣṣīṣah<sup>208a</sup> and unpublished ones from the excavations at Tarsus.

Several specimens of similar *fulūs*, probably from different dies, have been published,<sup>209</sup> but initial errors by Soret have thrown later scholars off the scent of the correct attribution. In the first place Soret thought he could read the date 333, and developed quite an erroneous argument in support of the reading. Then he saw a highly imagina-

<sup>207a</sup> There are approximately 260 copper coins of the 'Abbāsids in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, and an insignificant few in the University Museum collection. Notable unpublished or rare pieces among these, together with a few from my own small collection, are described in the following pages. Some apparently unique but only partially preserved specimens in the ANS have been omitted. The arrangement in this section is alphabetical, by mints. Common ornaments such as stars are conventionalized; only unusual ornaments are accurately reproduced.

<sup>208</sup> Yāqūt, I, p. 179 (cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 131); Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, p. 344; Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 715-6.

<sup>208a</sup> Cf. George C. Miles, "Islamic Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part One* (Princeton, 1948), Nos. 150-151, pp. 111, 119. My statement on p. 119 with regard to Soret's reading should be corrected in the light of the present positive identification. It is interesting that Aḥmad b. Hārūn struck at al-Maṣṣīṣah (apparently), as well as at Adhanah.

<sup>209</sup> Soret à Dorn (1856), p. 21, No. 29 = Ties., No. 2463; *Paris*, Nos. 1643-4.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

tive عمل الفدا كله on the obverse. Tiesenhausen and Lavoix copied Soret's errors, the latter adding to the confusion by reading the name of the governor as Aḥmad b. Marwān instead of Aḥmad b. Hārūn, which is perfectly clear on Soret's and the present specimens. Unfortunately I have not been able to identify Aḥmad b. Hārūn in the Arabic chronicles.

'*Amal*, an unusual numismatic formula, must be the substantive form, for there is no *bi* before the mint name.

## Arrān

364. *Arrān*(?). Year 184 A.H. = 800 A.D.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
\*

احمد  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بن محمد

Annulets: ○○○[○○]

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس باران(?)  
سنة اربع وثمانين ومئة

Æ. GCM. 19.5mm., 3.20grm.

The mint is obscure. The date, while somewhat obscure, is almost certainly correctly read, and the *fals* is therefore probably similar to one in Berlin where only the last two letters of the mint name are preserved.<sup>210</sup> I have not been able to identify the governor or prefect, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Possibly he was that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad العمري, who was relieved as governor of the Yaman in the year 212.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>210</sup> *Berlin*, No. 2203.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibn-al-Athīr*, VI, p. 287.



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365. *Arrān. Year 193 A.H. = 808/9 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
عدل

العباس  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بن زفر

Annulets: ○○○○ [○]

Margin:

... الفلّس باران سنة ثلث  
وتسعين ومئة

Æ. GCM. 20mm., 2.89grm.

There are dirhams of the same mint and year bearing the name of the governor, al-'Abbās b. Zufar (al-Hilālī).<sup>212</sup>

*Bukhārā*

366. *Bukhārā. Year 160 A.H. = 776/7 A.D.*

بركه لموسى  
ولى عهد  
المسلمين

✠  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
✠

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
ب هذا الفلّس ستين ومئة (sic)

Margin:

مما امر به عبدة بن قديد  
عامل الامير عبد الملك بن يزيد

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 21mm., 1.48grm.

This *fals*, without the double striking which produced the curiously garbled obverse marginal legend on the present specimen, is well known.<sup>218</sup> My only reason for publishing the specimen here is to raise the question of the identity of the prefect, whose name Fraehn, Tiesenhausen and Nützel left undeciphered. It seems to me that the name must be read 'Abadah b. Qudayd (or Qadīd, or pos-

<sup>212</sup> Ties., No. 1549. Cf. R. Vasmer, "Chronologie der Statthalter von Armenien . . .", in *Monumenta Armenologica*, 1927, p. 131; Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178. For a *fals* of the year 197, see Zambaur, *NZ*, 1905, No. 64.

<sup>218</sup> Ties., No. 906; *Berlin*, No. 2132<sup>a</sup>.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

sibly Fudayk), but I have been unable to trace any such individual in the chronicles.<sup>214</sup> The governor (abu-'Awn) 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd, is of course a well-known figure, adequately documented in written history and by his coins and glass weights.<sup>215</sup>

## Bardha'ah

367. *Bardha'ah. Year 163 A.H. = 779/80 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
U

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
ببرذعة سنة ثلث وستين ومئة

Margin:

مما امر به الامير يزيد  
بن اسيد اعز الله نصره

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 23mm., 2.84grm.

Similar to Ties., no. 2769 (cf. Ties., No. 726), where the crescent under the reverse area is not described.

## Tustar

368. *Tustar. Year 165 A.H. = 781/2 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده لا  
شريك له  
•••

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
ooo

Annulets: (apparently) ooo ooo ooo

بسم الله ضرب  
هذا الفلّس بتستر سنة خمس  
وستين ومئة

Æ. GCM (Teheran, 1936). 19mm., 3.16grm.

This and the following coin are, so far as I know, the only *fulūs* of Tustar to be published. On the silver and the gold the name of the mint is given in full, Tustar min-al-Ahwāz.

<sup>214</sup> There is an unidentified governor of Ṭabaristān with a name similar to the present father's name: J.-M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*, p. 13 and No. 1657 = Walker (*BM Cat. of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*), p. lxxx and p. 152.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. *AGW*, pp. 105-6, for a summary of his career and a list of his glass and copper issues.

‘ABBĀSID COPPER

369. *Tustar*. Year 166 A.H.=782/3 A.D.

Similar in every respect to No. 368 above, except for the date

ست ستين ومئة

Æ. GCM (Teheran, 1936). 21mm., 3.08grm.

*Jayy*

370. *Madīnat Jayy*. Year 158 A.H.=774/5 A.D.

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلص بمدينة	مما امر به المهدي محمد بن امير
جى سنة ثمان وخمسين ومئة	المؤمنين على يدى عامله د . . .
	بن سنان (?)

Æ. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 20mm., 5.10grm.

One other example of this *fals* is known,<sup>216</sup> but the name of the prefect is there even less clear than it is here. I publish this piece only in the hope that it may elicit the publication of another specimen with the prefect's name more perfectly preserved. The only really uncertain letter in the father's name on the present example is the next to the last; I feel fairly confident that the other letters are either as I have transcribed them or the other Kufic possibilities.

*Halab*

371. *Halab*. Year 138 A.H.=755/6 A.D.

لا اله	محمد
الا الله	رسول الله
وحده	XXXX
XXXX	

Margin:

Margin: Part of Qur'ān IX, 33

بسم . . . بحلب سنة ثمان  
وثلاثين ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 21mm., 3.67grm.

A similar *fals*, with mint effaced, is in the British Museum.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup> *Berlin*, No. 2137.

<sup>217</sup> *BM*, i, p. 200, No. 99.

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372. *Khaznat Halab. Year 146 A.H.=763/4 A.D.*

Similar to the published specimens,<sup>218</sup> but with ✱ above the obverse.

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 20mm., 2.82grm.

## Dimishq

373. *Dimishq. Year 172 A.H.=788/9 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
••

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
••  
و

Annulets: •••••

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس  
بدمشق سنة اثنتين وسبعين ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 20.5mm., 2.92grm.

The date has been read 192 mistakenly (I believe) on three published specimens of this coin<sup>219</sup>; another specimen<sup>220</sup> is read 172 but not completely described.

## Al-Ramlah

374-375. *Al-Ramlah. Year 218 A.H.=833 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بخ

Chain border.

Margin:

ضرب هذا الفلّس بالرملة  
سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين

2 specimens: Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 20mm., 21mm.; 2.30grm., 3.10grm.

PLATE X (No. 374)

There are similar issues of al-Ramlah dated 217.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>218</sup> E.g., *BM*, ix, p. 94, No. 90<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>219</sup> *BM*, ix, p. 97, No. 127<sup>t, u</sup>; *Constantinople*, No. 771.

<sup>220</sup> Castiglioni, *Monete Cufiche*, p. 21, No. XXV=Ties., No. 1165.

<sup>221</sup> E.g., *Berlin*, Nos. 2211-12.

‘ABBĀSID COPPER

*Al-Rayy*

376. *Al-Rayy*. Year 129 A.H. = 746/7 A.D.

This variety of the issues of the ‘Abbāsid partisan ‘Abdullāh b. Mu‘āwiyah has been published.<sup>222</sup>

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 25mm., 4.44grm.

377. *Al-Rayy*. Year 129 A.H. = 746/7 A.D.

بسم الله ضر  
ب هذا الفل  
بالرى سنة تسع (sic)  
... شرين ومئة  
للم (sic)

مما امر به الا  
مير عبد الله  
بن معوية

Double struck.  
Margin: traces.

Annulets: ?

The garbled date and inverse line are due to double-striking.

Æ. ANS (K. Minassian). 21mm., 2.80grm.

This is a new variety.<sup>223</sup>

*Sūq al-Ahwāz*

378. *Sūq al-Ahwāz*. Year 16(?) A.H. = 777/8(?) A.D.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
الامير

محمد  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بن الحسين(?)

Border of continuous (?) annulets outside double circle.

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفل  
بسوق الاهواز سنة احدى وستين(?) ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 22mm., 5.06grm.

<sup>222</sup> NHR, No. 36C.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. NHR, Nos. 36B-D.

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379. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 16(?)8 A.H.=784/5(?) A.D.*

لا اله الا	محمد
الله وحده	رسول
لا شريك له	الله
	ور . . .

Margin:	Margin: Traces, including
بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس	name of prefect, al-'Abbās
بسوق الاهواز سنة ثمان وستين ومئة	(?)b. . . . .

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 21mm., 2.58grm.

380. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 210 A.H.=825/6 A.D.*

Area as above.	محمد
	رسول
	الله

Margin:	Ornaments above and below, if
بسم الله ضرب . . . لس	any, obliterated.
بسوق الاهواز سنة عشر ومائتين	Traces of margin, including
	name:

Annulets: ○○○○○	. . . مير . . . دة (?) مو [لى؟] . . .
-----------------	---------------------------------------

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 23mm., 3.81grm.

381. *Sūq al-Ahwāz. Year 210 A.H.=825/6 A.D.*

Area as above.	محمد
	رسول
	الله
	☆

Margin: سوق الاهواز سنة	Margin obliterated.
عشر ومئة . . .	

Outer border clipped.

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 15mm., 1.70grm.

‘ABBĀSID COPPER

*Ṭabaristān*

382. *Ṭabaristān. Year 150 A.H. = 767 A.D.*

Area as above.

مما امر به ا

لمهدى محمد

بن امير المؤمنين

Margin:

على يدى عامله خلد بن محمد (?) فى

ولية (?) . . . بن بلس (?)

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس

بṬabaristān سنة خمسين ومئة

Æ. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 21mm., 5.06grm.

I am not familiar with any other copper coins of this mint. The style is very similar to that of coins struck at Rayy at about this time; the two provinces were closely allied in administration. Khālīd b. Muḥammad, the prefect, is unknown. As for the latter part of the obverse marginal legend, the phrase “*fi-wilayat*,” although obscure, can be read and is not an unusual conventional inscription at this time; but the words that follow, although they should be easily decipherable, escape me.

*Al-‘Abbāsīyah*

383. *Al-‘Abbāsīyah. Year 173 A.H. = 789/90 A.D.*

Area as above.

بخ

محمد

Margin:

رسول

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس بالعباسية

سنة ثلثة وسبعين ومئة

الله

روح

Margin: traces only.

Æ. ANS (ex Torrey Coll.). 21mm., 3.85grm.

Coppers of al-‘Abbāsīyah of the year 172 are common,<sup>224</sup> but this issue appears to be unique.

<sup>224</sup> E.g., *BM*, i, p. 210, No. 129.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

*Ghazzah*

384-385. *Ghazzah. Year 217 A.H.=832 A.D.*

Area as above.

Chain border.

محمد

رسول

الله

بش

Margin:

ضرب هذا الفلّس بغزة سنة


سبع عشرة ومائتين

2 specimens: Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 21mm., 19mm.; 2.82grm., 2.67grm.

PLATE X (No. 384)

This issue has been published,<sup>225</sup> but I believe that it has never been remarked that these coins were cast, not struck from dies. The straight edges where the coins were cut apart after removal from the mould are very apparent. The casting of copper coins in Syria and, apparently, Palestine, in the third century of the Hijrah appears to have been a common practice. A very large number of cast coppers were found in the excavations at Antioch.<sup>226</sup>

386. *Ghazzah. Year 217 A.H.=832 A.D.*

Similar to the above, but with  beneath the obverse area and annulets (apparently five) in the border outside the chain margin. Cast, like the above.

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 21mm., 2.64grm.

<sup>225</sup> Karabacek, "Zur orientalischen Münzkunde," in *Wiener Numismatische Monatshefte*, III (1867), p. 37, No. 3 = Ties., No. 2849; cf. *Berlin*, No. 2220 ("unbestimmter Prägeort").

<sup>226</sup> For a discussion of these cast coppers, see my "Islamic Coins," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, IV, Part One* (Princeton, 1948), Nos. 148-153, pp. 118-9.



'ABBĀSID COPPER

*Al-Kūfah*

387. *Al-Kūfah. Year 163 A.H.=779/80 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
••

\*  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بركة

Annulets: •••••

Margin:

••• مما امر به المهدي محمد  
كوفة سنة ثلث وستين (*sic*)

Æ. ANS (ex Torrey Coll.). 20mm., 2.68grm.

*Fulūs* of the year 163 at al-Kūfah are known,<sup>227</sup> but not lacking the "hundred" as here.

388. *Al-Kūfah. Year 165 A.H.=781/2 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
اسحق

Annulets: ••••••

Margin:

مما امر به المهدي محمد امير المؤمنين  
بالكوفة سنة خمس وستين ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 20mm., 2.34grm.

Ishāq (b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindi), governor of al-Kūfah,<sup>228</sup> is known on *fulūs* of the year 163,<sup>229</sup> but this is the first specimen of the year 165 bearing his name that I have met with.

<sup>227</sup> *E.g.*, BM, i, p. 205, No. 113.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 43.

<sup>229</sup> *E.g.*, Ties., No. 947.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

389. *Al-Kūfah. Year 195 A.H. = 810/1 A.D.*

Area as above.

Chain border interrupted by ●●●

✱  
محمد  
رسول  
الله  
U

Margin:

ما امر به محمد أمير المؤمنين بالكوفة  
سنة خمس وتسعين ومئة

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 19mm., 2.75grm.

This specimen differs, with respect to the ornaments above and beneath the reverse, from that in the Istanbul Museum.<sup>280</sup>

## *Māh al-Kūfah*

390. *Māh al-Kūfah. Date effaced. 2nd c. H. = 8th c. A.D.*

Area as above.

Margin:

... [ر] الله مما اء

محمد  
رسول  
الله  
بخ (؟)

Margin:

... فلس بماء الكوفة ...

Æ. ANS (ex Torrey Coll.). 20mm., 3.09grm.

I know of no other coppers of this mint.

## *Al-Muḥammadiyah*

391. *Al-Muḥammadiyah. Year 185 A.H. = 801 A.D.*

This particular variety, with al-Ḥarib or al-Ḥarith, has been published in my *NHR*.<sup>281</sup>

Æ. GCM (Teheran, 1935). 23mm., 2.97grm.

<sup>280</sup> *Constantinople*, No. 779.

<sup>281</sup> No. 86E.

'ABBĀSID COPPER

*Miṣr*

392-393. *Miṣr. Year 25[9?] = 87[2/3?] A.D.*

Ornament?

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

• •

الله

محمد

رسول

• •

الله

•••

Chain border.

Margin:

... ضرب هذا ... بمصر سنة

تسع (?) وخمسين ومائتين

2 specimens (1 largely effaced): *Æ. ANS* (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 20mm.; 2.24grm., 1.87grm.

The curious symbols at the bottom of the reverse area are similar to, if not identical with, the symbols on certain coppers of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn which have been discussed at some length by a number of scholars in the past. Zambaur argued that they were Arabic figures and on one specimen published by him he undertook to read the date 262.<sup>232</sup> If any further evidence were needed to dismiss this argument it is here, for the date, unfortunately not clear in its entirety but almost certainly 259, is written out in conventional fashion in the margin. As for the significance of the symbols I can add nothing to Nützel's statement (or is it Zambaur's acceptance of Nützel's refutation?): "aussi longtemps qu'on ne nous fournira pas une meilleure explication, il faut voir dans ces signes un simple ornement."<sup>233</sup>

It is of interest to note that the present coins, Ṭūlūnid by date(?) and mint, do not bear the name of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn as do the related coins referred to above.

<sup>232</sup> NZ, 1905, pp. 74-77, No. 70. The other significant references are to be found there. Cf. Zambaur, NZ, 1906, p. 194, No. 70, where he publishes Karabacek's cogent refutation.

<sup>233</sup> NZ, 1906, p. 195.

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

*Al-Mawṣil*

394. *Al-Mawṣil*. No date (ca. 145 A.H. = 762/3 A.D.).

Within square:

لا اله الا  
الله  
وحده

Around:

على يدى الهيثم بن معاوية  
بالموصل

Within square:

محمد  
رسول  
الله

Around:

مما امر به الامير جعفر  
بن امير المؤمنين

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 22mm., 3.44grm.

A number of Mosul *fulūs* of this general type have been published,<sup>284</sup> but I find none exactly similar to this. I suspect that the prefect's name on some specimens has been misread, as for example al-Walid b. Mu'āwiyah on the specimens cited. Lavoix assigns the coins to the Umayyad period on the basis of two alternative identifications of al-Walid b. Mu'āwiyah. Al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyah, which is sufficiently clear on the present coin, is undoubtedly the person by that name who was governor of Ṭā'if and Mecca from 141 to 143 A.H.,<sup>285</sup> and who later turns up as governor of Baṣrah in 155 and 156.<sup>286</sup> As for the name of the governor, to judge by the style, the Ja'far in question is undoubtedly the Caliph al-Manṣūr's son Ja'far, governor of Mosul in 145-146 A.H.<sup>287</sup> Hence I believe this *fuls* is to be dated approximately 145.

395. *Al-Mawṣil*. Year 157 A.H. = 773/4 A.D.

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Margin:

... الله ضرب هذا الفلوس  
بالموصل سنة سبع وخمسة...

اسحق  
محمد  
رسول  
الله

Margin:

مما امر به الامير جعفر  
بن امير المؤمنين اصلحه الله

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 28mm., 10.63grm.

<sup>284</sup> Cf. Ties., Nos. 2641-2, *Paris*, No. 1513, etc.

<sup>285</sup> Ibn-al-Athir, V, pp. 387, 389; cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 20.

‘ABBĀSID COPPER

This *fals* is perhaps similar to one with date obscure (15x) in the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>238</sup>

*Nihāwand*

396. *Nihāwand*. Year 154 A.H.=770/1 A.D.

*	مما امر به
لا اله الا	المهدي محمد
الله وحده	بن امير المؤمنين
لا شريك له	على يدى سليمان
* *	ooo

Annulets: o o o o o o o o

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلص بنهاوند  
سنة اربع وخمسين ومئة حما

Æ. ANS (ex Wood Coll.). 21mm., 2.38grm.

This issue has been published,<sup>239</sup> with the curious word at the end of the reverse margin read as *مما*. The letters before the final *alif* are clearly *hā* (*jīm*, etc.), and either *qāf* (or *fā*) or *mīm*; perhaps the word is *حقاً*,<sup>240</sup> “truly, verily,” a pious expression used by the die-engraver to fill up the excess space in the margin.

397-400. *Madinat Nihāwand*. Year 186 A.H.=802 A.D.

Similar to *Berlin*, Nos. 2191-2.

4 specimens: ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 26-27mm.; 8.20, 5.97, 6.92, 7.00grm.

PLATE X (No. 397)

I publish these only to confirm the reading in the Berlin catalogue and to point out Lavoix’s erroneous reading “Amid” for “Nihāwand.”<sup>241</sup> The *waw*, *nun* and *dal* in the name of the mint are crowded but, I believe, indisputable.

<sup>238</sup> Ibn-al-Athīr, VI, pp. 2, 4 and 6; cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 40. Al-Haytham is mentioned by Yāqūt, II, p. 167.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 36 and table G.

<sup>238</sup> *Paris*, No. 1632. The word “al-amīr” is omitted, perhaps inadvertently, in the transcription.

<sup>239</sup> *Ties.*, No. 835.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. *Ties.*, No. 1742, a Baghdad dirham of later date.

<sup>241</sup> *Paris*, No. 1553.

*Hamadhān*401. *Hamadhān. Year 171 A.H.=787/8 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
\*

Annulets: ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

الخلافة  
الرشيد هـ [رون]  
امير المؤمنين  
الانرد

Margin:

بسم الله . . . هذا الفلّس بهمدان  
سنة احدى وسبعين ومئة

Æ. UM. 21mm., 8.32grm.

The British Museum has two specimens of this coin,<sup>242</sup> but Lane-Poole did not attempt to interpret the word beneath the reverse area. The letters of this word are distinct and well-preserved, but there are (theoretically) exactly thirty possible readings of the combination of Kufic letters, depending upon the reading of the last three letters of the word (there being ten acceptable interpretations of these letters). Among these theoretical possibilities there are, I believe, only three that are at all likely—*al-abrad*, *al-abrak*, and *al-abradh* (for the Persian title *abrāz*). This does not bring us much closer to the solution, for I find no one suitable by such names in the chronicles. *Al-Abrad* is probably the most likely.

402. [*Madīnat Hamadhān*]. *Year 200 A.H.=815/6 A.D.*

لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب . . .  
سنة مائتين

على يدى  
محمد رسول الله  
مما امر به الامير الح . . .  
بن عمر الرسمى مولى  
امير المؤمنين  
[ . . . . . ]

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 4.36grm.

PLATE X

<sup>242</sup> *BM*, i, p. 213, No. 136 (imperfectly preserved), and *BM*, ix, p. 98, No. 133P.

# 'ABBĀSID COPPER

The obliterated mint on this *fals* can easily be reconstructed from two published specimens of the same coin.<sup>243</sup> I publish the present specimen only to discuss the identity of the governor and prefect. The missing prefect's name (if such be the word at the bottom of the reverse) has been variously read as *كفور*, *طيفور*, etc.<sup>244</sup> As for the governor, I think there can be little doubt but that the first name (for which the die-engraver did not leave sufficient room) is al-Ḥusayn, and that the individual in question is al-Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Rustami, an influential soldier in al-Jibāl during the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn in the years 194-196 A.H.<sup>244a</sup> The coin now demonstrates that as a *mawla* of al-Ma'mūn he was rewarded for his services by being appointed governor of Hamadhān.

## *Al-Yaman*

403. *Al-Yaman*. Year 157 A.H. = 773/4 A.D.

The inscriptions roughly in the center of obverse and reverse are obliterated by a hole bored through the coin.

لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin: . . . لمس باليمن سنة

. . . سبع وخمس

Annulets: ۞ only preserved.

Margin: Traces of Qur'ān, IX,

33.

Æ. ANS. 22mm., 2.12grm.

Two other 'Abbāsid coppers of al-Yaman are known to me,<sup>245</sup> both dated in the following year, 158. The piercing is curious. It does not seem likely that this humble copper coin was pierced for wearing as an ornament as silver and gold coins so frequently are. It is of in-

<sup>243</sup> Ties., No. 1712; *BM*, ix, p. 99, No. 143<sup>d, e</sup>; cf. also *Berlin*, No. 2219, another specimen with mint effaced.

<sup>244</sup> There was a Ṭayfūr, client of al-Hādi, governor of Iṣbahān in 169 A.H. (*Ibn-al-Athīr*, VI, p. 64). Cf. Ṭayfūr, client of al-Manṣūr, who died in 186 (*Ties.*, No. 812, with reference to *Ibn-Taghri-Birdi* [ed. Juynboll & Matthes], I, p. 523).

<sup>244a</sup> Ṭabari, III, pp. 778, 800 (where the name is misspelled, but corrected in the addenda), 852-3. Cf. *Ibn-Khaldūn*, III, p. 237.

<sup>245</sup> *BM*, ix, p. 95, Nos. 98<sup>x, y</sup>.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

terest to note that one of the British Museum specimens is twice-pierced, not in the center but near the periphery.

## Mint Names Lacking or Effaced

404. *No mint. No date.*

\* ••

الامير

محمود

\*

Margin:

... به الامير ...

• خ •

على يدى

صلح

Margin:

لا اله الا ... سول الله

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 19mm., 3.30grm.

PLATE X

This is apparently a variant of published specimens.<sup>246</sup> The style, with its large heavy characters in the areas, seems to me Egyptian, but if this is so, I am still at a loss to identify the officials. One might hazard the guess that Šālīḥ is Šālīḥ b. 'Alī,<sup>247</sup> but we have no record of him as a prefect under an unknown Maḥmūd, which the phrase 'ala yaday indicates that he was. The officials in question are almost certainly the same ones as those whose names appear on Nos. 405-6 below.

405-406. *No mint. No date.*

خ \* خ

In center: ☼

Around, in form of square:

بسم الله مما امر ... محمود

Margin:

محمد رسول الله على يدى صلح

2 specimens: Æ. ANS (ex Brand Coll.). 15mm., 13.5mm.; 1.65grm., 1.61grm.

PLATE X (No. 405)

The officials Maḥmūd and Šālīḥ are unidentified. See No. 404 above. These specimens are surely of the same issue as that published

<sup>246</sup> Ties., Nos. 2545-6; *Paris*, No. 1671.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. *AGW*, pp. 102-3, where his Egyptian career is summarized.



‘ABBĀSID COPPER

by Soret,<sup>248</sup> and attributed to abu-Ja‘far Ashinās. I think there is little doubt but that Soret’s reading “Achnas” is a misreading of “bis-mi’llah.”<sup>249</sup>

407. *No mint [Miṣr]. No date. (ca. 157-159 A.H.=773-776 A.D.).*

Margin:

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin:

ضرب هذا الفلح على يدي ماطر  
مولى امير

Center (continuing the margin):

يك له  
\*#\*

Center (continuing the margin):

المؤ  
منين اكر  
مه الله  
o

Æ. ANS (ex Newell Coll.). 20mm. (thickness 3.5mm.), 8.26grm.

PLATE X

Varieties of this issue are known,<sup>250</sup> attributed to Qinnasrīn, but I doubt that the mint name has been read correctly. No mint name is present here, nor is Qinnasrīn legible on the Paris specimen, which is illustrated. Lavoix must simply have followed Tiesenhausen’s sources, some of whom must have read Qinnasrīn in error, others making no mention of the mint. The coin is typically Egyptian in style and fabric (it is exceptionally thick), and Maṭar served in Egypt.

408. *Mint effaced. Year 151 A.H.=768 A.D.*

Outer margin within outer linear circle and circle of pellets, interrupted by annulets, oo :  
ضرب هذا الفلح . . . سنة احدى وخمسين ومئة

Outer margin within linear circle:

مما امر به المهدي محمد بن  
امير المؤمنين . . . مه الله

Inner margin:

لا اله الا الله . . . الله

Inner margin within border

بسم (?) الله . . . الصمد (?) : xxxxx

<sup>248</sup> Soret à Dorn (1856), p. 26, No. 37 = Ties., No. 2568.

<sup>249</sup> I would therefore delete my reference to these coins in *AGW*, p. 135.

<sup>250</sup> Ties., No. 2626, *Paris*, No. 1601. Cf. my *AGW*, pp. 118, 124, for Maṭar’s glass weights.

# RARE ISLAMIC COINS

Center obliterated by roughly square hole.      Center obliterated by hole.

Æ. ANS (ex Valentine Coll.). 25mm., 4.96grm.

## PLATE X

Unfortunately the mint name of this very curious piece is worn quite smooth. It is just barely possible that it might be *al-Sughd*, but given the condition of the legend at this point any reading must be highly problematical. The flan shows the characteristics of casting, that is there are straight edges at opposite sides of the periphery where the piece was cut off. The arrangement of the legends is unconventional, and the borders, especially the reverse inner border, are atypical. I believe everything points toward a Central Asiatic mint.<sup>251</sup> Such a provenance would help explain the later piercing of the coin with a square hole: it was probably used in subsequent times as a Chinese "cash." The cast flan might also indicate a Central Asiatic origin, although this is not a firm argument for there are cast flans in Syria and Palestine in the 'Abbāsid period.<sup>252</sup>

<sup>251</sup> Compare the unconventionalities of the Bukhāran coinage and of the issues of the Illek-Khāns.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Nos. 384-5 above.

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RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE I



ARAB-SASSANIAN



RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE II



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12



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17



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23



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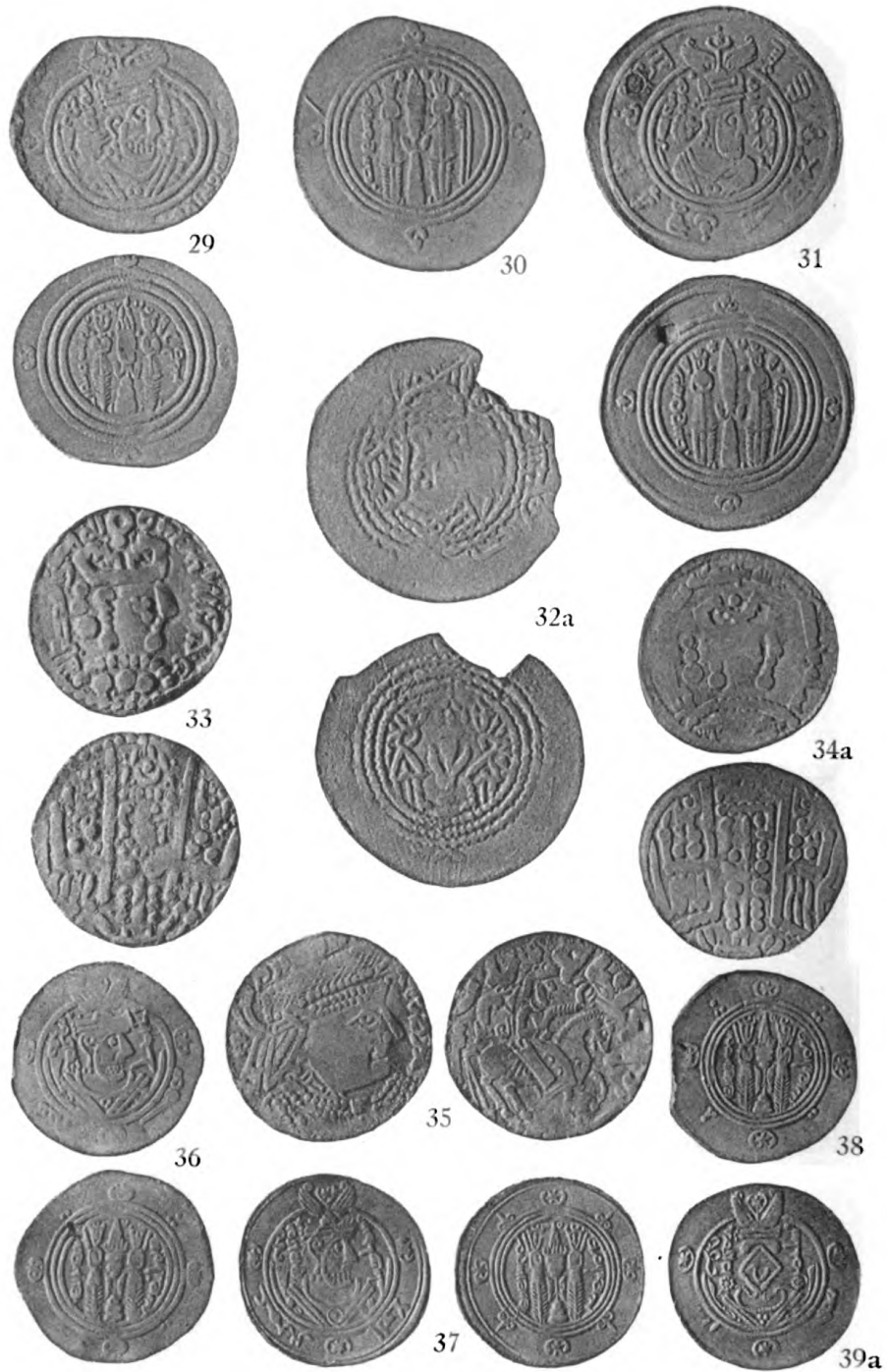
27b



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ARAB-SASSANIAN



ARAB-SASSANIAN: 29–32a. BUKHĀRĀ IMITATIONS: 33–34a.

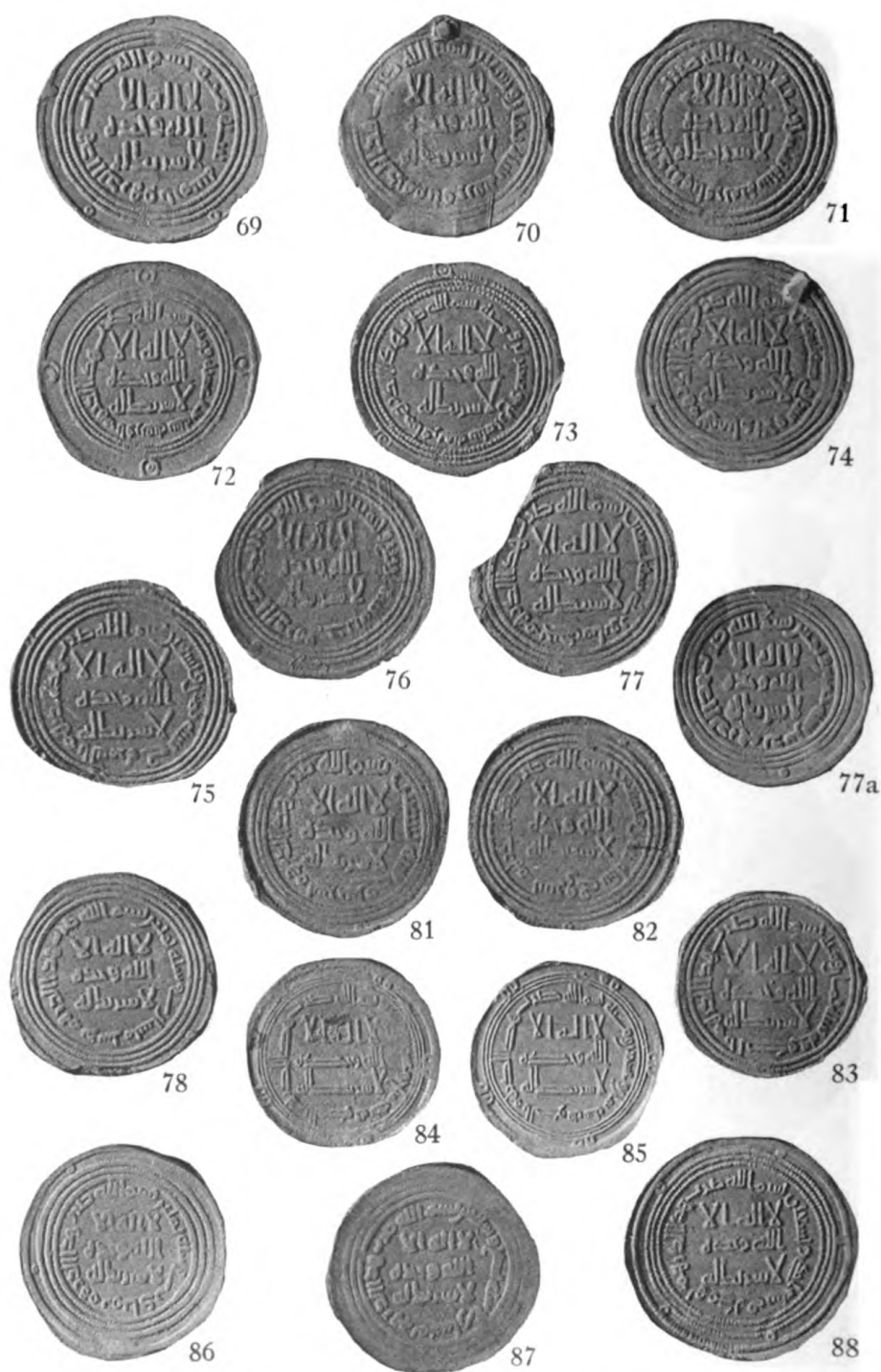
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RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE IV



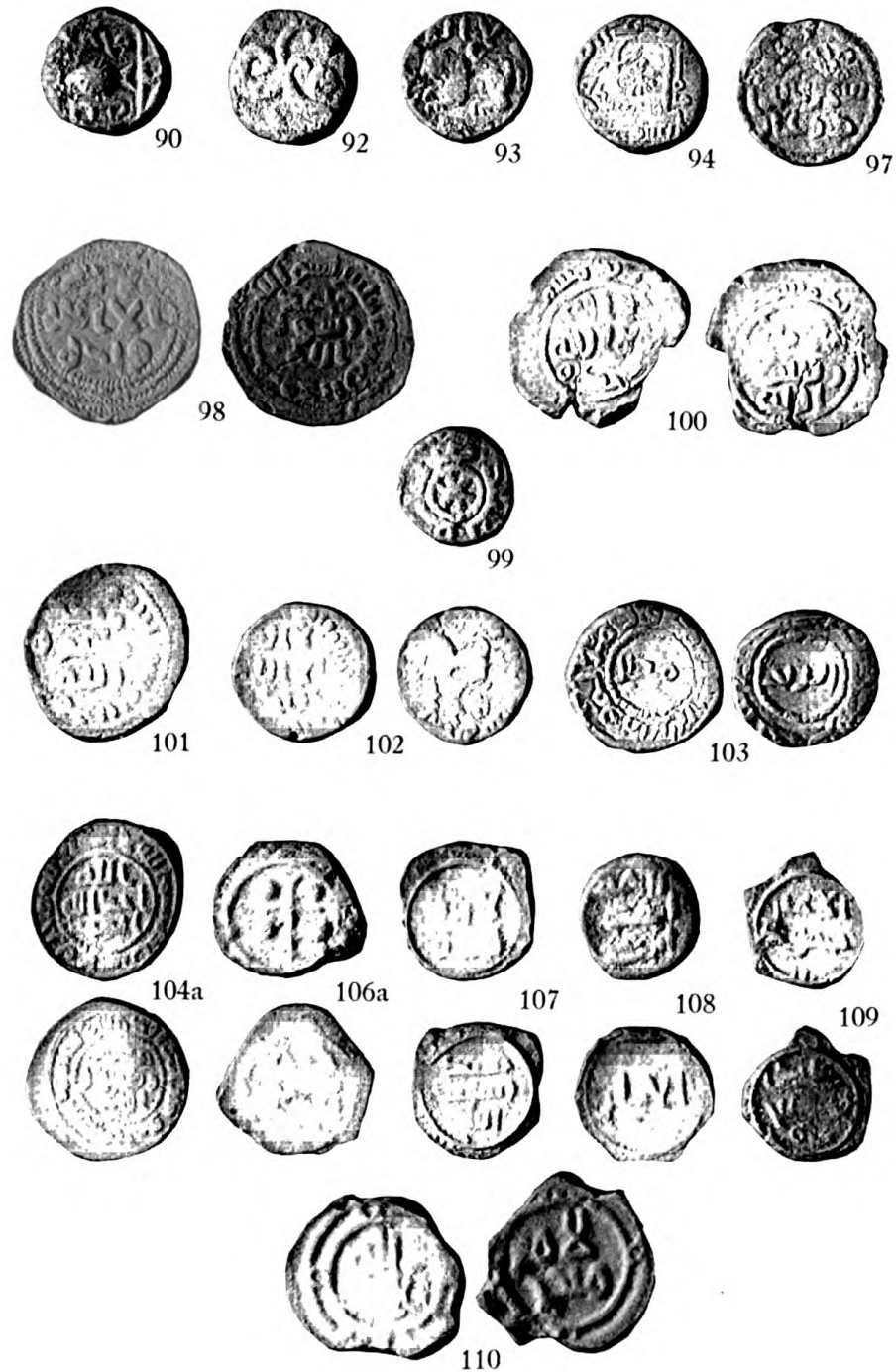
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POST-REFORM Umayyad Silver

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE VI



POST-REFORM UMAYYAD COPPER

RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE VII



'ABBĀSID GOLD





'ABBĀSID GOLD: 188-203. 'ABBĀSID SILVER: 220-256.

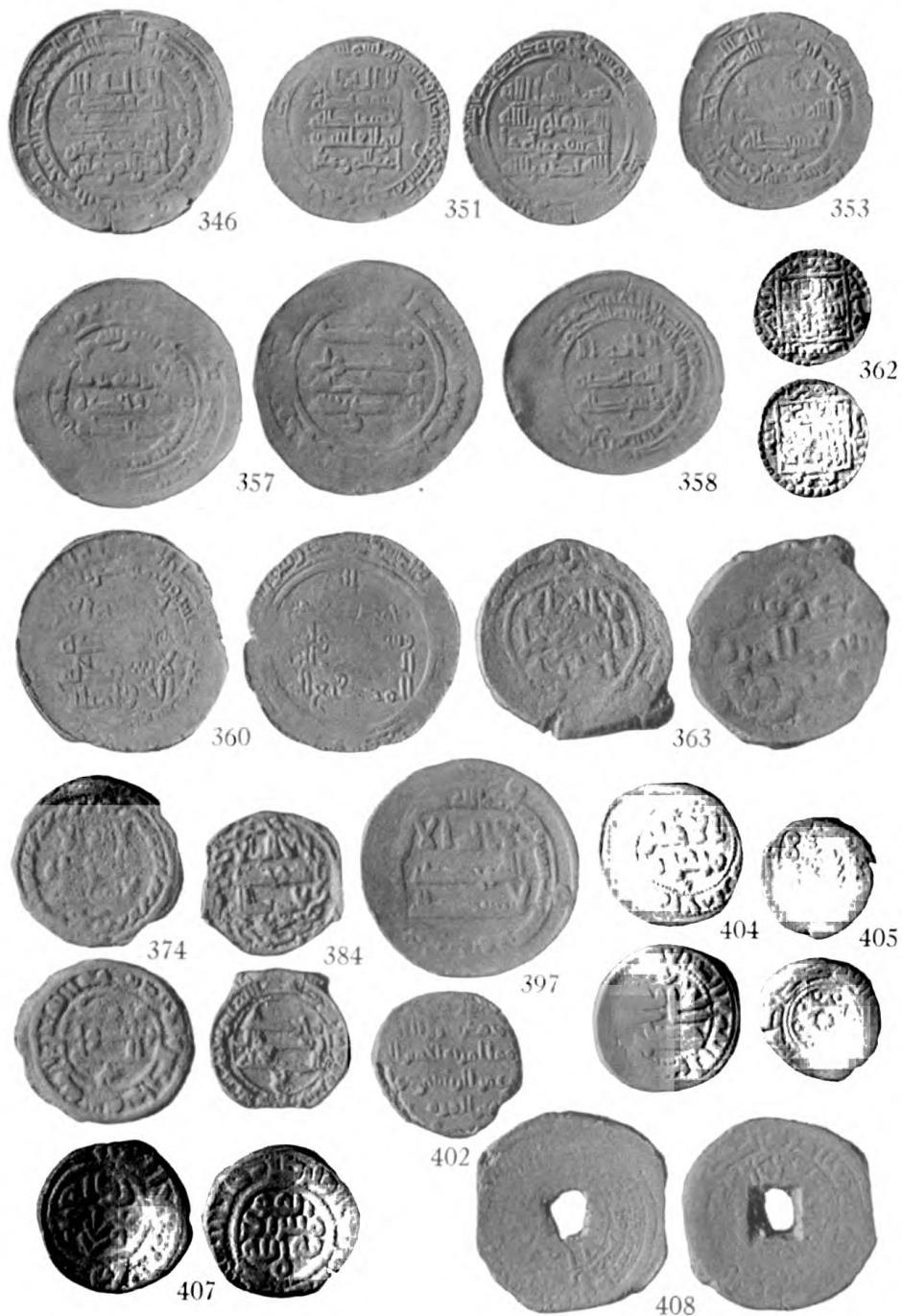


'ABBĀSĪD SILVER



RARE ISLAMIC COINS

PLATE X



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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# NOTES ON SYRIAN COINS

By HENRI SEYRIG



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## NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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# NOTES ON SYRIAN COINS

By HENRI SEYRIG

///



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET

NEW YORK

1950

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## I. THE KHAN EL-ABDE FIND

### AND THE COINAGE OF TRYPHON

#### 1. THE FIND

**K**HAN EL-ABDE,<sup>1</sup> some 15 kilometers to the North of Tripolis, is an old caravanserai near the point where the highway crosses the mouth of the Nahr el-barid. During the month of April, 1938, workmen engaged in digging earth to build up an embankment for a new bridge on the river, began to find silver coins, which promptly appeared on the market at Tripolis, and a few days later at Beyrouth. It seems that the coins did not properly constitute a hoard, but were scattered in the earth, from which the workmen continued to pick them up for several weeks. As the ruins of ancient Orthosia<sup>2</sup> lie in the immediate vicinity of Khan el-abde, it seems probable that the original hoard, or hoards, were connected with that town, and that the coins, in the course of time, had been washed down by the waters.

All coins found at Khan el-abde were of silver, and were characterized at first sight by a peculiar, thick, purple patina, of a horny substance.<sup>3</sup> After removal of that heavy crust, which often obscured every detail, the coins all showed a deep crystallization of the metal, and some of them were broken into small pieces by careless handling. The patina was removed only with difficulty, and the lack

<sup>1</sup> R. Dussaud, *Topogr. historique de la Syrie*, p. 78; J. Sauvaget, *Ars Islamica*, VII, 1940, p. 16, no. 22 ("Orthosie").

<sup>2</sup> R. Dussaud, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> On that patina, see O. Ravel, *Rev. Num.*, 1933, p. 14 ff.

of expert care of some dealers ruined more than one beautiful specimen. It will be seen also that the weight of the coins was much affected by the process of cleaning, the difference rising sometimes as high as 1.5 grams.

The coins found at Khan el-abde are all tetradrachms, struck by Tryphon, Antiochus VII, Ptolemy II, Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV. The writer believes that he has seen a large proportion of the Tryphons, as the high prices offered for them at Beyrouth, and the lack of such a market at Tripolis, probably brought most of them to the capital. A few specimens, ruined by unskilful cleaning and thereupon lost in the bazaars, could not be recorded, and the same is true for some of the better coins, known to have reached foreign markets almost directly. On the contrary, the Ptolemaic coins, and possibly also the Seleucid tetradrachms, attracted less attention and many may well have remained in various hands, without coming to the writer's notice.

The coins that have been recorded are as follows; those illustrated on the plates are indicated with an asterisk.

*The Kahn el-abde Find*  
TRYPHON

3

Legend: βασιλέως Τρύφωνος ἀντοκράτορος

A. ATTIC TETRADRACHMS

*Obv.* Head of Tryphon r., diad. Fillet border.

*Rev.* Helmet adorned with horn of ibex. Oak wreath.

No.	Monograms and Letters	Dies	Weight	
			Before Cleaning	After Cleaning
1	None	Aa	16.97	15.60
2	"	Bb	—	16.01
3*	"	Bb	—	15.95
4	"	Bb	16.86	—
5	⌘	Cc	—	15.99
6	"	Cd	17.17	—
7	"	De	17.05	—
8	"	De	17.20	—
9*	"	De	17.30	16.02
10*	"	Ec	17.17	15.67
11	"	Ff	—	—
12	"	Gg	17.15	—
13	" pellet	Hh	17.08	16.11
14	" pellet	Ii	17.35	—
15*	" A Γ	Ij	16.93	15.96
16	" Δ I	Jk	17.07	—
17*	" "	Jk	17.44	15.97
18*	" Π A	Kl	17.08	15.93
19	" "	Ll	17.15	—
20*	" ⌘	Mm	17.04	15.76

B. PHOENICIAN TETRADRACHMS

*Obv.* Bust of Tryphon r., draped, diad. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle to r. on thunderbolt. Border of dots.

No.	Monograms and Letters			Dies	Weight	
	to l.	to r.	Between Legs		Before Cleaning	After Cleaning
21*	—	L Δ	Δ	Aa	13.95	—
22*	⌘	"	—	Bb	14.34	13.46
23*	⌘	"	—	Bc	14.04	—
24*	⌘	"	—	De	—	13.75
25	"	"	—	Ef	—	13.59
26	"	"	—	Ef	14.35	—
27	"	"	—	Ef	14.91	—
28*	"	"	—	Fg	14.20	—
29	"	"	—	Gh	—	—
30*	"	"	—	Cd	14.10	13.50
31*	"	"	pellet	Gi	14.54	—
32	"	"	—	—	—	—
33	"	"	—	Gi	14.28	—

## ANTIOCHUS VII

Legend: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Εὐεργέτου

*Obv.* Head of King r., diad. Fillet border.

*Rev.* Pallas standing l., holding Nike. Wreath of olive.

34 To l. club surmounted by monogram of Tyre,  $\Psi$ ,  
 IEP,ΑΣΥ; in ex.:HOP, Σ. Weight after cleaning: 16.07  
 Newell, *The Seleucid Coinages of Tyre*, no. 189.

Legend: βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου

*Obv.* Bust of king r., diad. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle to l.

35 To l.: EOP,  $\hat{M}$ ; to r.: ΣΙΔΩ, a plustre.  
 E. Babelon, *Perses achém.*, no. 1070.

36-37 T. l.: club surmounted by monogram of Tyre,  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ ;  
 to r.:  $\mathbf{\Lambda}$   $\Sigma$  and date IOP; between legs of eagle:  $\mathbf{\Phi}$   
 E. T. Newell, *Sel. Coinages of Tyre*, no. 121.

## PTOLEMY II

*Obv.* Head of Ptolemy I r., diad. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Eagle l. on thunderbolt. Border of dots.

No.	Scar.	to l.	to r.	Below	Legend	Mint
38	362	EY X	—	—	Bas.	Egypt
39-41	375	" K $\epsilon$ A	—	—	"	"
42	?	$\Pi$ T $\Omega$ IH	—	—	Σαρ.	"
43	400	" " $\Delta$	—	—	"	"
44-46	401	" " $\mathbf{\Lambda}$	—	—	"	"
47	402	" " $\mathbf{\Lambda}$	—	—	"	"
48-49	531	$\Pi$ $\Delta$	Shield	—	Bas.	"
50	?	$\Pi$ Shield	$\mathbf{\Phi}$	—	"	"
51-52	626	Club	—	—	"	Tyre
53-54	668	$\Psi$ Club	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ B $\mathbf{\Lambda}$	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$	Σαρ.	"
55	674	" "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ Γ "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ $\mathbf{\Phi}$	"	"
56	677	" "	" "	• •	"	"
57	680	" "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ $\Pi$	—	"	"
58	683	" "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ $\Delta$ $\Pi$	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$	"	"
59	694 ?	" "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$ I	—	"	"
60	702	" "	$\mathbf{\Lambda}$	—	"	"
61	703	" "	"	$\Delta$	"	"
62	704	" "	" $\Delta$	—	"	"



No.	Stor.	to l.	to r.	Below	Legend	Mint
63	?	Σ Ι	ΠΠΠΠ	—	βασ.	Sidon
64-66	713	—	—	—	—	—
67	719 ?	—	Λ Λ	—	—	—
68	732	—	Λ	—	Συτ.	—
69-70	738	Α Α	Λ Β	—	—	—
71-72	739	Δ Ι	—	—	—	Sidon
73	756	Α Α	Λ Ο Η	Pellet	—	—
74	757	Ι Ζ	—	—	—	—
75	780	Π	Λ Ε	Ο	—	Ptolemais
76	?	Π	Κ Γ	—	—	Joppe
77-81	853	—	—	—	—	Cyprus ?
82-84	?	—	—	—	—	—
85	?	—	—	ΠΠΠΠ	—	—
86	?	—	—	ΠΠΠΠ	—	—
87	?	Δ	Κ	—	—	—
88	?	Ι Σ	—	Ν ?	—	—
89-94	?	illegible	illegible	—	—	—
95-99	?	—	—	—	βασ.	—
100-103	?	—	—	—	?	—

## PTOLEMY III

Legend: Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος

Same types.

No.	Stor.	to l.	to r.	Below	Mint
104	1040	Ι Π ΠΠΠΠ	Γ Ο	—	Joppe

## PTOLEMY IV

Legend: Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως

Obv. Jugate busts of Serapis and Isis, r. Border of dots.

Rev. Eagle l. on thunderbolt, with double horn of plenty.

Border of dots.

No.	Stor.	to l.	to r.	Legs	Mint
105	—	Λ Γ	Α Σ	—	Ascalon
106-118	1124	—	—	Δ Ι	?

The coins of Ptolemy II and III, just described, form a group by themselves. The most recent among the dated ones (no. 104) goes back to 245/244 B.C. Yet the presence of only one coin of Ptolemy III, whose Syrian issues were quite considerable, is not in favor of connecting the group with the tetradrachms of Ptolemy IV (nos. 105-118). Probably the coins were put aside in the first years of Ptolemy III, and the preponderance of local issues among

them gives an interesting picture of the currency that was then prevalent in Phoenicia under Egyptian suzerainty. All of them show notable signs of wear.

The coins of Ptolemy IV again seem to form a closed group. They are almost in mint condition and must have been withdrawn from use very shortly after their issue. The only dated one among them, a new variety from Ascalon (no. 105), goes back to 219/218 B.C., and the other ones have also been reasonably supposed to belong to the beginning of the king's reign.<sup>3a</sup>

All coins of Tryphon, and of Antiochus VII, are in mint condition, and obviously were hoarded very soon after their issue. A striking fact is that the thirteen dated coins go back to the fourth (and last) year of Tryphon's reign, while no coin of year 3 (of which more numerous varieties had hitherto been known, than of year 4) accompanies them.

The contents of the find are difficult to combine into a single picture. The three groups of coins (if the tetradrachms of Antiochus VII are to be joined to those of Tryphon) have the appearance of three separate hoards. Yet it is hardly likely that three such hoards, buried separately, should have been washed together by the waters. Perhaps they may have been parts of the treasure of a temple, to which various deposits were added in the course of time. An additional possibility cannot be completely ignored. It will be remembered that Tryphon, besieged in Dora near mount Carmel by Antiochus VII, managed to escape in a boat and landed at Orthosia, only to throw himself into Apamea, where he was again be-

<sup>3a</sup> E. T. Newell, *Two Recent Egyptian Hoards* (N.N.M. 33), p. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I Maccab. XV, 25; 37; 39; Joseph., *Ant. jud.*, XIII, 223 f.; B. Niese, *Gesch. der griech.-maked. Staaten*, III, p. 293; E. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, II, p. 238. A fragment of Charax Perg. says that Tryphon escaped from Dora to Ptolemais: F. Jacoby, *Fragm. hist. gr.*, II A, p. 488, 29.

sieged, captured and suppressed. As we have seen, Khan el-abde is no other than the site of ancient Orthosia, and it is not altogether impossible that the tetradrachms of Tryphon, all belonging to his last year, should have been left there by his party on their flight, and have joined the treasure in some way or other.

The great rarity which has hitherto characterized the coins of Tryphon should be attributed, not to the fact that they were struck in small numbers, but rather to the pains that Antiochus VII must have taken to melt them, as the monuments of the worst insult that his dynasty had suffered. That Tryphon's money was plentiful, seems to appear from the fact that the Attic tetradrachms of his two last issues (☐ and "no monogram"), show the use of 13 obverse dies and 14 reverse dies for the 22 specimens known to this day, and bear the secondary marks of four distinct monetary officials. As for the Phoenician tetradrachms of year 4, the 14 known specimens show the use of 7 obverse dies and 10 reverse dies.

It will be noted that no coin later than the tetradrachms of Antiochus VII seems to have been found at Khan el-abde, as if the hoarding had ceased after that prince's reign. It is, however, not impossible that other coins are still scattered among the sands of the Nahr el-barid, so that new finds may very well, some day, alter the general picture given by the present hoard.

## 2. THE HELMET AS A COIN TYPE

The Attic tetradrachms of Tryphon in the Khan el-abde find include some of the most splendid coins ever struck for the Syrian monarchy. Yet their reverses, when compared to earlier issues of Tryphon, show some signs of haste. Babelon, publishing the specimen in the *Luyes*

collection,<sup>6</sup> was able to describe in detail the two medallions which adorn the helmet's body: one of them contains an eagle with spread wings, the other a panther holding a thyrsos. Such minutiae are no longer worked out on our specimens. These, in compensation, show a feature not yet noticed: a thunderbolt that embellishes the cheek-pieces.

The type of these tetradrachms, the helmet, spiked and brimmed, with ibex horn, cheek-pieces and wreath of laurel, somehow combined with the royal diadem, is usually considered as Tryphon's personal badge, either his own helmet, or a symbol of the army that had elected him.<sup>6</sup> Its presence on the last issues of Antiochus VI should then be explained as a sign of Tryphon's gradual rise to power. Revolutionary as the coinage of Tryphon appears to be in respect to dates and royal titles,<sup>7</sup> the choice of such a purely human emblem seems hardly probable in Hellenistic Syria. A general's hat, however superb, could not be a fitting type for the most important denomination in the coinage of the realm.

The mythological ornaments on the helmet would not be decisive in themselves, as their presence could also be justified on a soldier's armour. Yet their content is interesting. The panther alludes to the cult of Dionysus, which was important in Apamea:<sup>8</sup> a circumstance that may have played its part in the assimilation of Antiochus VI to that god, soon after his elevation, which had taken place precisely at or near Apamea. The eagle and the thunderbolt are the emblems of Zeus. Perhaps we should now remember that the city-coins of Apamea, which was not only the place where Antiochus VI had been proclaimed, but also

<sup>6</sup>E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, no. 1043; J. Babelon, *Coll. de Luynes*, no. 3376.

<sup>6</sup> E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxix; E. T. Newell, *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Below, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> BMC, *Galatia* etc., p. 234, nos. 9 ff.; cf. the dionysiac reliefs from Apamea: l'. Mayence, *Mélanges syriens off. à R. Dussaud*, p. 975 ff.

the native town of Tryphon and the cradle of his revolt, show a peculiar figure of Zeus.<sup>9</sup> The type, otherwise unknown in Syria, occurs a few years before Tryphon, in 150/149 B.C., and this in two variants: the god is simply standing, or he puts his foot on a pile of shields and armour. But in both cases, he carries on his extended hand a helmet. Such an image of a warlike Zeus is likely enough to have stood in the military capital of the Seleucids, and to have received a special worship from the army. It may now be asked: cannot the helmet on our coins be the main attribute of the great god of Apamea?<sup>10</sup> The highly religious significance thus given to the type, and its link with the cults of a city so important in the life and adventures of Tryphon, seem more plausible than a purely human allusion, not to speak of an alleged pun on the word *τρυφάλεια*, sometimes used for a helmet by Homer. Certainly the oak-wreath around the type, a unique appearance in the silver coinage of the Seleucids, seems to confirm our interpretation.

### 3. PHOENICIAN MINTS OF TRYPHON

In order to make the following pages easier to read, a synopsis of the coinage of Tryphon, to which the references in the text are made (syn.), has been provided (pp. 22-23).

The Khan el-abde find contains a notable proportion of Phoenician tetradrachms of Tryphon's fourth year, on

<sup>9</sup> E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, nos. 912-921. The god here represented is not Poseidon, but Zeus. It should also be noted, in this connection, that the coin listed under Apamea, no. 2, by the BMC (*Galatia* etc., p. 233), does represent Poseidon but belongs to Attalea Pamphyliae (other specimens: BMC, *Lycia* etc., p. 110, nos. 1 ff.). Thus disappears the only instance of the cult of Poseidon in Apamea.

<sup>10</sup> There is of course no difficulty in the fact, that the helmet held by the statue on the coins of 150/149 is of a much simpler design. The helmet on the coins of Antiochus VI and Tryphon may have been a spectacular offering, made by the young king, or in his name by his minister, to the god who had favored their rise. On the cult of Zeus in Apamea, see the coins, especially the rich series in Glasgow (G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of the Hunterian Coll.*, III, p. 190-195); also the inscription from Vaison (Dessau, *Inscr. lat. selectae*, 4333) on the oracle of the god, there named Belus.

which the eagle stands on a thunderbolt, without any accessory symbol. This type recurs on some other coins of Tryphon, and on a solitary tetradrachm of Antiochus VII, none of which has been attributed to a definite mint. The group, then, includes the following issues.

1. Tryphon, didrachm (syn. no. 34)  $\Sigma$  L Γ A Σ —
2. " tetradrachm (*id.*, no. 38)  $\text{⌘}$  L Δ — —
3. " " (*id.*, no. 35) — L Δ — Δ
4. " " (*id.*, no. 36)  $\text{⌘}$  L Δ — —
5. " " (*id.*, no. 37)  $\text{⌘}$  L Δ — —
6. Antiochus VII,  
tetradrachm (Babelon 1104)  $\text{⌘}$  I O P — —

The coastal towns of Syria were careful, when they minted such eagle-coins for the kings, to distinguish their respective issues by symbols. The eagle stands on the ram of a war-galley at Tyre, on a thunderbolt at Ascalon and Ptolemais, on a palm-branch at Berytus, on nothing at Sidon. Moreover the bird is accompanied by a palm branch at Ascalon, Tyre, Sidon and Byblus, by a trident at Berytus. At the mint of Ptolemais, such a secondary symbol is absent, except on a short series of coins from Alexander I to the third year of Tryphon, where an ear of wheat appears on the eagle's shoulder.<sup>11</sup> It would therefore seem that our coins of Tryphon's fourth year and of Antiochus VII, being entirely similar to the later issues of Ptolemais, should also be attributed to that mint. It may be object to such an attribution, that our coins do not bear the monogram  $\text{⌘}$ , characteristic of Ptolemais. But a glance at the catalogues will show that while it was used fairly constantly under the Lagids,<sup>12</sup> it was dropped after the Seleucid conquest (obviously when the town was re-named Antiochia after Antiochus III); that it was resumed

<sup>11</sup> A. B. Brett, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, I, 1945, p. 19-35; E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints* (N.N.M. 84), p. 4, no. 2 to p. 35, no. 51.

<sup>12</sup> J. Svoronos, *Nomismata tōn Ptolemaiōn*, II, pp. 113 ff.; 163; 169; 192; A. B. Brett, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, II, 1947, pp. 8 f.

under Antiochus VI;<sup>13</sup> and that it only recurs sporadically, in later times, on one issue after Demetrius II's return, and on one issue under the joint reign of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII.<sup>14</sup> Its presence therefore cannot be regarded as essential. The writer is inclined to think that the identity of type, the striking continuity in the style of the eagle, the perfect congruity of the dates, show that this series, otherwise unattributed, closes the gap (year 3 of Tryphon, to year 185 of the Seleucids) left in the coinage of Ptolemais between the two sequences established by Mrs. Brett and E. T. Newell. The suppression of the ear of wheat must have taken place in the course of Tryphon's year 3, for which we have two tetradrachms with the ear of wheat (syn., no. 32; 33), and a didrachm without it (syn. no. 34). This attribution fits very well with the fact that Ptolemais appears from other documents to have been Tryphon's stronghold in Phoenicia: it is natural that it should have been his principal mint.

In addition to Ptolemais, Tryphon seems to have controlled the mint of Ascalon,<sup>15</sup> to which an issue of *chalkoi* is usually attributed (syn. nos. 39-40; PLATE II, B). The portrait on these coins is strikingly similar to that on the Phoenician tetradrachms struck at Ptolemais (see PLATE II, 23).

Other coins of Tryphon were issued from Byblus. That city, the source of numerous issues of bronze under several kings, has otherwise never served as a royal mint for silver. Tryphon probably had his own reasons for innovating, and it may be conjectured that, with Tyre and Sidon closing their gates to him,<sup>15</sup> with Berytus laid waste by him,<sup>16</sup> he

<sup>13</sup> A. B. Brett, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, I, 1946, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>14</sup> E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints* (N.N.M. 84), pp. 4 ff.

<sup>15</sup> A. B. Brett, "The Mint of Ascalon under the Seleucids," *A. N. S. Museum Notes* IV, 1950.

<sup>16</sup> As proved by their continuous series of coins with the effigy of Demetrius II.

<sup>17</sup> Strab., XVI, 2, 19 (p. 756); see below, p. 12.

found it convenient to establish his mint for Northern Phoenicia in that ancient and venerable town, whose military strength was probably not sufficient to keep him in check. The unique tetradrachm of the de Clercq collection (syn. no. 30) is not the only coin of Tryphon that has come down to us from that mint. In recent years, the children of Byblus have been picking up on the beach, where the sea washes the foot of the acropolis, numerous coins, among which the following are fairly common, and have found their way into several collections in Beyrouth.

*Obv.* Head of Tryphon, diademed, r. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Six-winged god of Byblus walking l., leaning on staff with his r. hand, crowned with a disk between cow's-horns. ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΚΙΑΕΩΣ. Border of dots. Lebanese Museum, Beyrouth; etc. 15 to 17 mm.; 2.50 to 4 grms. PLATE I, A.

#### 4. DATES OF TRYPHON

Tryphon on his coins shows a decided will to break with Seleucid tradition.<sup>17</sup> Instead of adding a religious epithet to his name as his predecessors had done, he assumed the military title of autocrator, and instead of reckoning the years according to the established dynastic era, he began to date by his regnal years, as was usual among the Lagids. The result is, unfortunately, that the chronology of his ephemeral reign remains uncertain, and has been an occasion of considerable variations among the historians. It is interesting, however, to review the existing evidence.

As the coins are the only contemporary documents, it will be convenient to examine them first.

Antiochus VI has left three main categories of coins: 1. an issue of 146/145 B.C., probably struck at Apamea;<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> E. T. Newell, *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 61, note 31.



2. three issues of 145/144, 144/143 and 143/142 B.C., apparently struck at Antioch;<sup>19</sup> 3. an issue of 142/141 B.C., struck at Ptolemais.<sup>10</sup> His reign, then, seems to have lasted three full calendar years, plus two fractions of years.

As Tryphon is accused of having murdered the young king in order to take his place, the natural step would be to count as his first regnal year, according to the custom, the remaining months of his predecessor's last year. Tryphon's year 1, in that case, would be 142/141 B.C., and his year 4 would be 139/138 B.C. His reign, then, would have lasted two full calendar years, and two fractions of years.

In 139/138 B.C. also, Antiochus VII arrived in Syria to claim the throne of his ancestors. He struck coins at once in Seleucia Pieriae,<sup>21</sup> Antioch<sup>22</sup> and Tyre;<sup>23</sup> Sidon was added to his mints in the following year,<sup>24</sup> and his coinage thenceforward takes its regular course.

If we were to judge only by the coins, everything would therefore seem very simple.

Of the two main literary sources of these events, the 1st book of Maccabees<sup>25</sup> contains nothing incompatible with such a chronology. It gives the date of Antiochus VII's

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 216 ff.

<sup>20</sup> S. Ben Dor, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1946/1947, pp. 43 ff.; A. B. Brett, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, I, 1946, p. 27 f., nos. 21; 21 A.

<sup>21</sup> G. Macdonald, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXIX, 1912, p. 99, no. 27; cf. E. T. Newell, *apud* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, p. 292, note 3, *in fine*. This a very interesting coin. It is not a royal issue, but, as the legend shows, a municipal one, on which the king's head is put by courtesy. According to the date, the coin was struck, in a rather unusual denomination, on the king's arrival from Side, obviously to congratulate him on his accession, on his marriage to the legitimate queen Cleopatra who was then residing at Seleucia, and on his will to restore legitimacy and lawful order in the realm of his fathers.

<sup>22</sup> E. T. Newell, *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 81.

<sup>23</sup> E. T. Newell, *Seleucid Coinages of Tyre* (N.N.M. 73), nos. 108 ff.

<sup>24</sup> E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, nos. 1070 f.

<sup>25</sup> I Maccab., XI, 39 to XV, 39.

advent as the 174th year of the Seleucids (139/138 B.C.), which agrees with the coins. Furthermore the war against Tryphon is described as the first aim of Antiochus VII after his arrival; and the siege of Dora, the flight of Tryphon to Orthosia, the king's pursuit of the usurper are told in rapid succession, as if they had suffered no delay, and had been favored by the fact that everybody joined the legitimate king, so that Tryphon only kept a few followers around him. If the above chronology is accepted, all this well agrees with the fact that we have no coin of a fifth year of Tryphon.

Our second main source, Josephus, says that Antiochus VI reigned four years,<sup>26</sup> and that Tryphon reigned three years.<sup>27</sup> This rough information, taken from some chronological list, fits rather well with the system just offered. But we come to an open contradiction when Josephus states that Tryphon took the diadem *after* the capture of Demetrius II by the Parthians,<sup>28</sup> an event safely dated as having taken place in the late summer or autumn of 139 B.C.<sup>29</sup> In that case, Tryphon's year 1 should probably be 139/138 B.C., coinciding with the 1st year of Antiochus VII, and his year 4 should be 136/135. While there is no positive impossibility to bring the coins of Tryphon down to those late dates, the chronology thus proposed, and accepted by Kahrstedt,<sup>30</sup> needs to be confronted with other evidence.

At first sight the Khan el-abde find would seem to bring an argument in favor of the Josephus' chronology. The coins of Tryphon, all of his year 4 and all in mint condi-

<sup>26</sup> Joseph., *Ant. jud.*, XIII, 218.


<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 187; 218.

<sup>29</sup> As there are no coins of Demetrius II for 139/138 B.C., his capture must have taken place in 140/139; but as his coins of the latter year are quite numerous, it should have taken place rather late.


<sup>30</sup> U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien in hellenist. Zeit*, pp. 130-132.

tion, are associated with four coins of Antiochus VII, the latest of which is dated Sel. 178 (135/134 B.C.), also in mint condition. This association, together with the absence of any older or more recent coins, would fit quite well with an equation of Tryphon's year 4 to Sel. 177, or 136/135 B.C., which is the equivalence postulated by Josephus. Such a conclusion, however, would only be safe if the coins had been found as a real hoard. In fact, as has been said above, they were found scattered, and it is not plain that all of them belong together. Their testimony in favor of Josephus is therefore uncertain.<sup>31</sup>

Other numismatic evidence, though of a negative nature, would rather speak against Josephus. It seems obvious from the Khan el-abde find, that the Phoenician coins of Tryphon's year 4, and the same monarch's undated "Attic" coins, both with the monogram , are contemporary, and that the "Attic" issue with that monogram is therefore the last of Tryphon's issues at Antioch. If we accepted the late chronology, that issue would fall in 136/135 B.C. a date at which the mint of Antioch had already been in the hands of Antiochus VII for three years.<sup>32</sup> This objection, which could only be removed, in our present state of knowledge, by very complicated assumptions,<sup>33</sup> is so strong, that it seems difficult to maintain

<sup>31</sup> It must be noted that the Tyrian tetradrachm of Antiochus VII really looks like a late intruder among the coins from Khan el-abde. It is dated 178: yet, not a single specimen of the same king's Tyrian or Sidonian issues of the years 174, 175, 176, or 177 has turned up at Khan el-abde, or has been observed on the market at the time of the find.

<sup>32</sup> E. T. Newell, *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, p. 81.

<sup>33</sup> To reconcile the late chronology with the numismatic evidence, it would be necessary to suppose that the "Attic" coinage of Tryphon was not struck in Antioch, but for instance in Ptolemais while Antiochus VII already was minting in Antioch. It is true that Newell's attribution of those coins to the mint of the capital is based on the monograms that they have in common with those of the preceding and following kings, an argument perhaps not too certain in itself, as there are numerous cases when a single person signed the issues of several mints: in the present instance the monogram  is common to the Attic issues, attributed by Newell to Antioch, and to the Phoenician issues, which we have just attributed

the synchronism established by Josephus between the capture of Demetrius II and the accession of Tryphon. It also hardly appears likely that it took four years for Antiochus VII to reduce Tryphon, especially if his forces were rapidly increasing, as Josephus himself tells us.<sup>34</sup>

A mistake in Josephus could perhaps be explained by the same writer's information about the death of the boy-king Antiochus VI. Josephus says that Tryphon murdered the child in order to succeed him, after the capture of Demetrius,<sup>35</sup> therefore about 139/138 B.C. This statement has the support of Livy,<sup>36</sup> who reports the murder in 138/137 B.C., and whose source is rather likely to be a lost part of Polybius. If we accept this evidence,<sup>37</sup> it may be, as Kolbe conjectured, that Tryphon did not kill the boy immediately, but merely put him out of the way, and murdered him only later. Josephus, then, knowing Tryphon as the successor of Antiochus VI, may have erroneously connected his accession with the boy's murder. A further probability in favor of such an assumption may be found in the fact that Josephus gives Antiochus VI a reign of four years,<sup>38</sup> which is quite correct according

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to Ptolemais. It was also possible to transfer the personnel of a mint to another town (E. T. Newell, *Sel. Mint of Antioch*, p. 91; E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints*, pp. 8 f., 54, 61; A. R. Bellinger, *Hesperia*, XIV (1945), p. 59; A. B. Brett, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, I (1945), p. 31). But Newell's reconstruction of the mint of Antioch still appears as a solid block. In any case, the chronology of Josephus could only become valid if it was to be supported by an entirely new and plausible arrangement of the coins which have been attributed to the capital, and ignored by Kahrstedt.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph., *Ant. jud.*, XIII, 223; cf. I Maccab., XV, 10.

<sup>35</sup> Josephus, *op. cit.*, XIII, 187; 218.

<sup>36</sup> Liv., per. 55; cf. W. Kolbe, *Beiträge zur syr. und jüd. Geschichte*, p. 63–65. Cf. Justin., XXXVI, 1, 7; Appian., *Syr.*, 67 f.

<sup>37</sup> In I Maccab., XIII, 31, the boy's murder is alluded to, just before the report on the events of 144/143 B.C. (Sel. 169), but no chronological relation is implied, and in any case, the coins are a decisive obstacle to such a chronology.—I also feel unable to draw a conclusion from Diodorus Sic., XXXIII, 20 (excerpta de legat. II, 406). See however W. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph., *Ant. jud.*, XIII, 218.

to the numismatic sources, but remains in hopeless contradiction with Josephus himself, when it comes to the dating of the child's death.

Altogether, then, the early chronology seems the more acceptable, and Tryphon's year 1 probably coincides with the disappearance of Antiochus VI from the coins in 142/141 B.C. as numismatists have always maintained.

#### 5. ARADUS AND TYRE IN THE WAR AGAINST TRYPHON

The following variety of the common tetradrachm of Aradus has been published by E. T. Newell.<sup>39</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Tyche, r., with hair veiled. Border of dots.

*Rev.* Nike standing l., holding a plume. To r.:  $\Delta P \Delta \Delta I$   
 $\Omega N$  in l. field:  $B K P$ ,  $\Sigma$ ,  $\Pi C$ . Wreath of laurel. Beyrout, Museum of the American University. 15  
.20 grms.

A similar coin, but with the Phoenician letter  $\aleph$ , is in the De Clercq Collection, in Paris: 14.83 grms.

This coin, dated from the 122nd year (138/137 B.C.) of the era of Aradus, is the earliest known specimen of a long and popular series. To be sure, it is only one year older than the oldest one hitherto published, but the period in which it was minted remains so obscure, that even a year's difference may be of interest.

Aradus, under the Seleucid monarchy, always enjoyed singular privileges, probably due to her almost impregnable position on her island, to the strength of her fleet and wealth of her foreign trade.<sup>40</sup> This situation is reflected in

<sup>39</sup> E. T. Newell, *Miscell. numism.* (N. N. M. No. 82), p. 35, no. 15.

<sup>40</sup> On the liberties of Aradus: Strab., XVI, 2, 14 (p. 754). Cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien*, p. 27; 75 f.; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 239; E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 140; 155; M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World*, p. 846.

the early autonomy of her coinage.<sup>41</sup> Aradus apparently never served as a royal mint, and remained entirely free to strike bronze and small silver in her own name. Restrictions however seem to have been put on her issues of tetradrachms. In their earlier period, indeed, these large coins carry the types and legends of Alexander, and do not express the town's sovereignty: a mint-mark is the only sign of their origin. Quite exceptionally, and for reasons which are not known, an isolated tetradrachm, struck in the town's name, appeared in 174/173 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> but three years later, in 171/170 B.C., perhaps owing to a tightening of royal authority in such matters, even the Alexander issues come to an end. Then, after forty-three years of silence, in 138/137 B.C., the mint suddenly begins its famous series of autonomous tetradrachms, showing on one side the head of the city-goddess, on the other a figure of Nike holding an *aplustre*. These issues, of which our coin is the earliest, were to continue, with a few interruptions, as late as 46/45 B.C.

It seems unlikely that mere chance should explain the coincidence of this sudden, massive output of autonomous currency, the first of its kind in Syrian annals, with the pressing need for Aradian help, which the Seleucid king must have felt at that very moment.<sup>43</sup> The preceding year, 139/138 B.C., had witnessed the arrival in Seleucia Pieriae of the legitimate heir to the Seleucid throne, Antiochus VII. All elements loyal to the dynasty, disgusted by Tryphon's tyranny, gathered around the new king, whose first and immediate concern it was to run down the usurper. Tryphon had to leave Antioch and fled to

<sup>41</sup> On the history of the coinage of Aradus: G. F. Hill, BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. XII ff.; E. T. Newell, *Reattrib. of Certain Tetrs. of Alexander*, p. 47 ff.; J. G. Milne, *Iraq*, V, 1938, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>42</sup> E. Babelon, *Perses achéménides*, no. 964; G. F. Hill, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Phoenicia*, p. 20, no. 146.

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 13 f.

Phoenicia, where Tyre and Sidon alone had the strength to resist him, and where Ptolemais seems to have been his stronghold. In recent years also the Maccabees had taken advantage of the struggle to extend their boundaries, and were holding several towns and tracts of land on the seaboard between Dora and the border of Egypt. One of the first steps in order to reconquer the coast must have been for Antiochus VII to secure the assistance of a strong fleet. In such an enterprise, a state like Aradus was certainly able to play a leading part. The Aradians however are likely to have asked for compensations, of which our coin, and the subsequent issues, may well have been the visible sign.

Another coin also seems to bear the trace of an episode in the same struggle.

The city of Tyre was powerful enough to keep Tryphon out of her walls. A royal epistates probably resided in the town, and the royal mint never stopped its issues, with the head of Demetrius II until he was captured, and thenceforward with the head of Antiochus VII.<sup>44</sup> Among the issues of Demetrius, there is a very exceptional one<sup>45</sup> in 141/140 B.C., which, instead of bearing, according to the custom, the king's name alone with the mint-mark of Tyre, bears as a secondary legend the town's name in full: *Τύρου ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου*. There certainly must be a reason for this unprecedented appearance. It will be noted that the subsequent issues of royal silver from Tyre, although they do not bear the city's name in full, never fail to bear in their field, along with the Tyrian monogram, two groups of letters *not to be found earlier*, which are abbreviations of the titles *ἱερὰ, ἀσυλος*.<sup>46</sup> Our special issue, in

<sup>44</sup> F. T. Newell, *Seleucid Coinages of Tyre* (N.N.M. 73), p. 31 f.

<sup>45</sup> F. Rogers, *Second and Third Seleucid Coinage of Tyre* (N.N.M. 34), nos. 39–40.

<sup>46</sup> These letters appear immediately after the special issue just considered, in

141/140 B.C., is therefore the head of a series, and it cannot be doubted that this first and emphatic use of the titles, "sacred and inviolable," means that the city did not have them before, and that the royal authority allowed by special favor their full mention on the first issue that followed their grant.

The date of the asyilia of Tyre being thus ascertained,<sup>47</sup> it remains to see what reason may have prompted its concession. In an earlier article,<sup>48</sup> the writer endeavored to show that the procedure for acquiring the privilege of asyilia was the following. The king, as sovereign, consecrated the town to one of its principal deities, making it "sacred," *ιερά*, and probably thereby renouncing some of his rights in favour of the god, to whom the city now was reputed to belong. The town then sent embassies to the foreign powers, including the great sanctuaries of the ancient world, asking them to recognize it as "inviolable," *ἄσυλος*. As a result, every violation of the town was considered as a sacrilege, and the transgressor was liable to be

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140/139: E. Rogers, *op. cit.*, no. 38 (where the coin is rather unfortunately put among the earlier series, in which the letters are absent). On the interpretation of the letters, which is certain in spite of their somewhat curious arrangement: E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. CXXXIV. See also the same titles abbreviated in another fashion on the "Attic" coinage of the Tyrian mint: E. Rogers, nos. 126 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Ad. Wilhelm, *Anzeiger Wiener Akad.*, LIX, 1922, p. 13 followed by M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World*, p. 846, writes that Tyre received the privilege of asyilia from Antiochus IV, but quotes no precise evidence to that effect,—and there is none.

<sup>48</sup> *Syria*, XX, 1939, p. 35 ff. (*Antiq. syr.*, III, p. 1 ff.). On the asyilia of Syrian towns see especially E. Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, p. 149–156; M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 844 ff. With regard to the latter reference, I should not be inclined to think that the Syrian cities applied for a recognition of their asyilia on the part of the pirates. As the reader will find it expressed below, I would rather believe that an attack on a "sacred and inviolable" town brought upon the offender some sort of reprisals on the part of the states which had recognized that privilege, and that very possibly the town would also sometimes be protected by a kind of religious awe. Nor do we know that the king ever found it necessary to recognize the asyilia of one of his own towns: he declared the town "sacred," and the application for asyilia remained for the town itself a matter of foreign policy.



outlawed. It is difficult for us to see in what measure and fashion such offences were really punished, but the eagerness shown by Hellenistic cities to acquire that form of inviolability certainly testifies that a deep religious fear was attached to such violation, perhaps less by some cynical generals or condottieri, than by their simpler minded troops. In the present case, it is interesting to see Tyre, anxious to spread that religious fear at large by publicizing her new title on the issues of her mint.

In the majority of cases, fear of the pirates seems to have induced the coastal towns to apply for asyilia. The interest of the present case is in the fact, which follows from the date on our coin, that Tyre must have applied for such a privilege by fear of no other than Tryphon. Very probably the same reasons explain the asyilia of Seleucia.<sup>49</sup>

It is likely that similar circumstances will explain the gradual extension of asyilia to the cities of inner Syria during the first century,<sup>50</sup> while it had been almost restricted to the coast in Hellenistic times. The chaos that followed the decay of the monarchy, and the constant

<sup>49</sup> Seleucia does not bear any titles on her issues of 147/146 B.C. (BMC, nos. 11 ff.; etc.); then come undated issues, two of which have the mere title of *ιερά* (unpublished; cf. E. T. Newell, *apud* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondance*, p. 292, note 3), showing the preliminary stage to the grant of asyilia, which usually rather closely follows it (*Syria*, XX, 1939, p. 38). The title of *ἀσυλος* then appears in 139/138 B.C. (on the issue quoted above, note 21). The whole procedure is almost certainly in relation with the beginnings of Tryphon's power, when, as a minister of Antiochus VI, about 144 B.C., he made an expedition to Cilicia in order to weaken the party of Demetrius II (then residing in Seleucia). According to Strabo (XIV, 5, 2, p. 668) he made the fortress of Coracesium the center of a vast organization of piracy, thus threatening all the coastal towns in the neighborhood. M. Rostovtzeff (*op. cit.*, p. 846) writes that Seleucia probably owed her asyilia to Tryphon. The dates would fit all right, but Seleucia having remained constantly loyal to the legitimate dynasty, there is no probability that the usurper spent his favors on her.

<sup>50</sup> *Syria* XX, 1939, p. 39. In those days, the long formalities and consultations that had attended the petition for asyilia in Hellenistic times seem to have been reduced to a minimum, obviously owing to the fact that the Romans were now the only authority able to grant asyilia and to enforce its respect. We thus find Caesar bestowing on Antioch by a single action the three titles of sacred, inviolable and autonomous (Joh. Malalas, p. 216) cf. *Syria*, xxvii, 1950, pp. 10; 14.

changes brought about by the civil wars of Rome, made security an illusion, and men saw no other refuge than divine protection.

The grant of asyilia to a town probably had its political implications; it may have had, as Professor Rostovtzeff maintains, its economical aspects; but above all, it bears an exceptionally striking and interesting testimony to the religious mentality of the times.

### SYNOPSIS OF THE COINAGE OF TRYPHON

#### I. ATTIC SERIES. MINT OF ANTIOCH. REVERSE TYPE: HELMET.

No.	Metal	Denomin.	Monograms and Letters	Reference
1	Α	Tetradr.	None	BMC 2; Khan el-abde 1-4.
2	"	"	⌘	Babelon, <i>Rois de Syrie</i> , 1044; Kan el-abde 5-12.
3	"	Drachm	⌘	Egger Sale, Jan. 1908, 615 = Newell, <i>Sel. Mint of Antioch</i> , 271.
4	"	Tetradr.	⌘ pellet	Khan el-abde 13-14.
5	"	"	⌘ Α Γ	" " 15.
6	"	"	⌘ Δ Ι	Naville Sale I (Pozzi), 2996; Khan el-abde 16-17.
7	"	"	⌘ Π Α	Khan el-abde 18-19.
8	"	"	⌘ ⌘	" " 20.
9	"	"	⊙	Regling-Sallet, <i>Die ant. Münzen</i> (Berlin 1922), p. 43.
10	"	"	Χ	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1043; Egger Sale XLI 1912, 716.
11	"	Drachm	Χ	Hirsch Sale 1905 (Rhousopoulos) 4461.
12	"	Tetradr.	Χ no Wreath	Macdonald, <i>Hunterian Coll.</i> , no. 1.
13	"	Drachm	Χ	Newell, <i>Antioch</i> 265a; Naville Sale X (Rogers) 1245.
14	"	"	Χ Ρ	Macdonald, <i>Hunterian Coll.</i> , no. 3.
15	"	"	Α	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1046; Voigt, <i>Journ. intern. d'arch. num.</i> , 13, 1911, p. 161, 541.
16	"	"	Π Ρ	Egger Sale XLI 1912, 717 = Newell, <i>Antioch</i> 268; Naville Sale VII (Bement) 1696.
17	"	"	Π	Hirsch Sale XXX, 597 = Newell, <i>Antioch</i> , 272.
18	"	"	⌘	Macdonald, <i>Hunterian Coll.</i> , 2; Forrer, <i>Weber Coll.</i> , 7918, Newell, <i>Antioch</i> , 267; Rollin et Feuardent Sale 1910 (Duruffé), 626; Naville Sale X (Rogers), 1246.
19	"	"	Α	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1045; BMC 3; Voigt, <i>Journ. int. d'arch. num.</i> , 13, 1911, p. 161, 540; Jameson, <i>Monn. gr.</i> , 1729; Naville Sale X (Rogers), 1247; Syll. Num. Gr. I 2 (Newnham Davis) 424.
20	"	"	⌘	Naville Sale I (Pozzi) 2997.

## SYNOPSIS OF THE COINAGE OF TRYPHON—Continued

No.	Metal	Denomin.	Monograms and Letters	Reference
21	Æ	Chalkous	pilei	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1053; 1054; BMC 8; 9; 10.
22	"	"	aplustre	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1051; BMC 14.
23	"	"	star	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1052; BMC 11; 12.
24	"	"	palm-branch	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1049; 1050; BMC 13.
25	"	"	ear of wheat	(?) Newell, <i>Antioch</i> , p. 173.
26	"	"	A Σ	BMC 6.
27	"	"	A Σ K	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1047; 1048; BMC 5.
28	"	"	B Σ K	(?) BMC 7.
29	"	½ chalk	pilei	BMC 15.

## II. PHOENICIAN SERIES

No.	Metal	Denomin.	Types of Rev.	Mint-marks	Mint	Reference
30	Α	Tetradr.	Eagle with palm	Υ Ψ ΛΒ	Byblus	Saulcy, <i>Mel. de num.</i> 1877, p. 83 (now de Clercq Coll., Paris).
31	Æ	½ chalk.	Six-winged god of Byblos	None	"	As above.
32	Α	Tetradr.	Eagle on thunderbolt, with ear of wheat	Π Λ Γ ΜΕ	Ptolemais	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1056.
33	"	"	"	Λ Γ Π &	"	Imhoof, <i>Z.f.N.</i> III 1876, p. 81.
34	"	Didrachm	Eagle on thunderbolt	Ξ Λ Γ ΑΣ	"	BMC 1.
35	"	Tetradr.	"	Λ Δ Δ	"	Khan el-abde 21
36	"	"	"	Ξ Λ Δ	"	" " 22
37	"	"	"	Ξ Λ Δ	"	" " 23
38	"	"	"	Π Λ Δ	"	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1057; Khan el-abde 24-33.
39	Æ	Chalkous	Zeus standing	Λ Δ ΑΣΚΑ	Ascalon	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1058; BMC 16
40	"	"	"	ΑΣΚΑ Λ Δ	"	Babelon, <i>Rois</i> , 1059.

## II. SOME ABBREVIATIONS ON SYRIAN COINS

## 1. MINT-MARKS OF ARADUS

The tetradrachms struck in large numbers at Aradus between 138/137 B.C.<sup>1</sup> and 46/45 B.C.<sup>2</sup> bear in their left field the following signs: 1) a Greek date; 2) a Phoenician letter; 3) a group of two Greek letters. The dates are clear; the Phoenician letters, of which there are six varieties, are probably serial numbers, or the marks of officinae; the

<sup>1</sup> The earliest known tetradrachm of the series is discussed above, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 35, 291.

pairs of Greek letters have been the subject of careful study,<sup>3</sup> but are perhaps liable to a simpler explanation, towards which the present note is an attempt.

It was first suggested by Hill that the first letter in the pair could have denoted the month of issue. The letters known to him were Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Θ, Ι, Κ, Μ, and Ν, which, it must be confessed, do not make a very satisfactory system of numeration.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Milne, more recently, suggested that the second letter (Ν, Σ, seldom Ε) could have stood in each case for a distinct shop of the mint.

The whole system, however, suffers from the fact that it only takes into account the letters on the tetradrachms, while there are similar pairs of letters on some of the drachms and bronze coins. To quote only one instance, the letters ΘC, current on tetradrachms of year 141 (Arad.), are also to be found on the bronze of the same year,<sup>5</sup> obviously with the same meaning, and prove that bronze and silver should both be consulted. The following table is an attempt to put together the whole material: the pairs given without reference are those already listed by Dr. Milne, while additions are justified by their references.

ΑΝ	ΔC, ΔΣ	ΙΝ <sup>6</sup>	CI <sup>8</sup>
ΑC, ΑΣ	ΕΝ	ΚΝ	CN <sup>9</sup>
ΒC	ΕC, ΕΣ	ΚΣ	CT <sup>10</sup>
ΓC	ΘΕ, ΘΕ	ΜC, ΜΣ	CΩΜ <sup>11</sup>
ΔΙ	ΘΝ	ΝC, ΝΣ	ΦΣ <sup>12</sup>
ΔΝ	ΘC, ΘC	ΠC <sup>7</sup>	ΧΝ <sup>13</sup>

<sup>3</sup> More recently G. F. Hill, BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. XXXIII; J. G. Milne, *Iraq*, V, 1938, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See the doubts already expressed by E. T. Newell, *Miscell. numism.*, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 39, 319.

<sup>6</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 41, 333 (bronze, 85/84 B.C.).

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 42, 339 (bronze, 76/75 B.C.).

From this series, it appears that there are at least thirteen varieties of the first letter: more than are necessary for the twelve months.

Among the twenty-four groups listed above, eight end in the letter **N**, and eleven end in the letter **Σ**, while the remaining five end in **Ε**, **Ι**, **Μ**, and **Τ**. Yet our table does not do justice to the frequency of **N** and **Σ**: one and the same group sometimes recurs on a large number of issues, and a glance at Dr. Milne's survey will show that the pairs with **N** and **Σ** occur, in fact, in the overwhelming majority of Aradian issues.

It seems difficult to forget, in this connection, that the letters **N** and **Σ** also form the ending of the overwhelming majority of Greek men's names. I should therefore like to suggest that the coins of Aradus show a very exceptional, but a very clear system of abbreviation by contraction, in which the name of the magistrate or official of the mint is represented by its initial and final letters. The reader will easily supply, from the treasure of current Greek onomastics, a number of names to fit the clues on the coins.

There remain, to be sure, the five groups that do not end in **N** or **Σ**, but all of them are immediately intelligible as Greek names abbreviated by suspension: for instance **Δ Ι** (**ων**), **Θ Ε** (**όδωρος**), **Κ Ι** (**μος**), **Κ Τ** (**ράτων**), **Κ Ω Μ** (**βπορος**). In some cases it is even possible to conjecture the reason, for which those magistrates did not conform to the general custom. Magistrate **Θ Ε**, for instance, occurs in years 174, 177 and 183 of the Aradian era: the presence of his colleague **Θ Κ** on numerous issues between years 152 and 176

<sup>9</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 41, 330 f. (bronze, 86/85 B.C.); cf. Babelon, *Perses* etc., 1085.

<sup>10</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 42, 339 (bronze, 76/75 B.C.).

<sup>11</sup> E. Babelon, *Perses* etc., 1097 (bronze, 79/78 B.C.); BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. 44, 355 (under Antony, prob. 35/34 B.C.).

<sup>12</sup> BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. XXXI; p. 22, 165 (attic drachm, 152/151 B.C.).

<sup>13</sup> Beyrouth, collection of Mr. Ibrahim Sursock (tetradrachm: **ΔΜΡ**, , **ΧΝ**)

would seem to have justified the choice of a different signature to prevent confusion, unless **ΘΕ** and **ΘC** are simply one and the same person. The case of **CI**, **CT**, and **CΩM**, all three beginning with **C**, is different: apparently these gentlemen wished to avoid the signature **CC**. Their colleague **CN** had been less disturbed. For **ΔI**, I have no explanation, and probably it does not need one.

Perhaps it should be added that the way in which the two letters are closely coupled on the coins, seems best explained if they both belong to the same word. There do not seem to be any instances, at least on Syrian coins, where serial letters of different meanings are so intimately joined together.

Abbreviation by contraction, although a good many examples of it have been collected even for classical times, always remained exceptional, and close parallels to the practice of Aradus are rare.<sup>14</sup> Coins of Smyrna<sup>15</sup> in the second and first centuries B.C. seem to bear the letters **BAYC** for **βασιλεύς**. **ΛΟΣ** is found for **Λούκιος** at Tithora in Boeotia,<sup>16</sup> and **ΚΑΣ** for **Κλαύδιος** at Magnesia on the Maeander.<sup>17</sup> To these examples, however, a few others can be added, to show the special favor which such a system seems to have enjoyed in Syria.

An inscription from Atil<sup>18</sup> in the Hauran has the letters

<sup>14</sup> See especially E. Nachmanson, "Die schriftliche Kontraktion in griech. Inschriften" (*Eranos*, X, 1910, pp. 101-141). Also L. Traube, *Nomina sacra* (1907), and the important remarks of U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I 1, p. XLIII ff.; M. Avi Yonah, *Abbrev. in Greek Inscr.* (Suppl. to vol. IX, *Quart. of the Dept. of Ant. in Palestine*, 1940), p. 25 ff. Further bibliography in W. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik*, 3rd. ed., pp. 279 f. K. Regling's article "Abkürzungen," in Schrötter's *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, is most disappointing. Two recently published examples are: I. Robert, *Rev. de philol.*, 1944, p. 41, note 4: **βκσν** = **βασκασύνη** (with the first letter of each syllable); C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 50: **ττ** = **τοῦτο**.

<sup>15</sup> BMC *Ionia*, p. 246, no. 105; cf. R. Münsterberg, *Beamtennamen*, p. 102 f. B. Keil, *Anonymus argentinensis*, p. 72, note 1.

<sup>16</sup> IG IX 1, 194, l. 17.

<sup>17</sup> *Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad.*, LIII, 2, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Waddington, *Inscr. grecques et lat. de la Syrie*, 2372 a.

Κ Σ for *Kalorapos*, under Antoninus Pius.

The silver coins of Tyre sometimes bear, between 42/41 and 16/15 B.C., instead of the usual monograms of the magistrates, a group of two letters. Three varieties seem to be known: ΒΝ, ΖΝ and ΗΣ.<sup>19</sup> Is it by mere chance that the three pairs have endings suitable for Greek men's names, like Bion, Zenon or Heraclides?<sup>20</sup>

Another instance seems to occur in Gabala. Newell, in a discussion on the era of that town,<sup>21</sup> remarked that the letters Δ C, on a coin with the effigy of Commodus, could not possibly stand for a date, and therefore probably denoted a magistrate's name. This fits very well into our evidence, and the magistrate's name is abridged by contraction.

Probably a similar case is to be recognized on a tetradrachm of Seleucus VI, struck at a Cilician mint which Mr. Bellinger recently suggested to have been Elaeusa.<sup>22</sup> Each variety of these coins bears two groups of letters or monograms. We thus have:

Ⲙ	ΔΡ	ΑΛΕ	ΔΗ <sup>23</sup>
Ⲙ	ΑΠΟΛ	ΑΛΕ	ΔΙΦ
Ⲙ	ΖΗ	ΦΙ	ΑΝ
ΑΕ	ΙΣΙ	ΗΡ	ΑΝ <sup>24</sup>
ΝΕ	ΙΣΙ	ΠΟ	ΑΠΟ <sup>25</sup>
ΠΟ	ΙΣΙ	ΤΙ	Ⲙ <sup>26</sup>
		ΑΕ	ΚΣ <sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See the London and Paris catalogues.



<sup>20</sup> The group ΚΡ is not to be included here, although it could easily be conjectured to represent a name, for instance, like Kastor. These letters have greatly puzzled some commentators, as they are to be found on all autonomous silver issues of Tyre for the last ninety years of that coinage. It should have been observed, however, that the Tyrian silver issues are constantly marked with one monogram or one group of two letters, and that ΚΡ, from 13/12 B.C. onwards, comes as a regular addition to those traditional marks, and probably has a different meaning.

<sup>21</sup> E. T. Newell, *apud* Ph. Lederer, *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXIV, 1924, p. 366.

<sup>22</sup> A. Bellinger, *A.N.S. Museum Notes*, III, 1948, p. 27-30.

<sup>23</sup> A specimen (15.87 grms.), recently copied by me in Munich (Staatliche Münz-

As all these abbreviations obviously denote magistrates' names, it seems difficult to understand the group KΣ, on the last coin, otherwise than as meaning K—s.

It may be added that monograms, even when they do not confine themselves to a combination of the first letters of the name, sometimes leave out a number of letters from the middle of the name, which amounts to a kind of abbreviation by contraction. On a leaden weight<sup>28</sup> from Antioch (middle of the first century B.C.), for instance, the names of the two agoranomoi, Apollonides and Nikanor, are accompanied by the monograms  and , which evidently represent those two officials: the second monogram can in no case be made to contain an omega. Such examples could easily be multiplied.

## 2. LETTERS ON COINS OF TYRE AND SIDON

As soon as it had acquired its autonomy in 126/125 B.C., the city of Tyre began to strike its well known silver issues with an eagle on the reverse. These coins are dated according to the era of the liberty of Tyre, from year 1 (126/125 B.C.) to year 195 (A.D. 69/70). Except on the coins of year 1, there is always a Phoenician letter between the eagle's feet, and that letter is always either an *aleph*, or a *beth*. Its presence has not been explained.<sup>29</sup>

Some bronze coins of Sidon, dated according to the era

sammlung), seemed to me to read ΔH. Cf. A. Bellinger, p. 28, where a possible confusion with ΔIΦ is noted.

<sup>28</sup> Writer's coll. (15.35 grms.).

<sup>29</sup> Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (14.02 grms.).

<sup>30</sup> Brussels, de Hirsch Coll.

<sup>31</sup> Milan, Castello Sforzesco, from the Brera Coll., no. 3364.

<sup>32</sup> E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catal. des bronzes antiques de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 2248.

<sup>33</sup> For the most recent discussion of these matters, see G. F. Hill, BMC, *Phoenicia*, p. CXXXV. The same letters are found on the gold double shekels. The specimen quoted by Hill has a *beth* near the tip of the cornucopiae. Another specimen, known to the writer, has the date 25 (E K), the same monogram, and the same letter *beth*.



of the liberty of Sidon, and running, as it seems, from year 155 (A.D. 44/45) to year 198 (A.D. 87/88), bear, in addition to their usual legends and dates, the sign Σ (for 6), accompanied by the Greek letters A or B. These marks also "await explanation."<sup>30</sup>

The clue to their meaning, however, is given by a Sidonian half-shekel of year 154 (A.D. 43/44), which bears, after the date, the letters Β-Ε Ξ.<sup>31</sup> These can only stand for *δευτέρας εξαμήνου*, "in the second semester." On the bronze coins the letters Ε Ξ were replaced by the sign for 6, alternatively preceded by A and B, for *πρώτης* and *δευτέρας*. A number of epigraphical parallels, collected from Syrian inscriptions only, will, I think, convince the reader.

An inscription from Sidon,<sup>32</sup> of Hellenistic times, mentions a citizen, Apollophanes, as having been "one of the First Friends, and having exercised authority during the second semester, and having been agoranomos." An inscription from Tyre<sup>33</sup> praises a certain C. Julius Candidus, in A.D. 60/61, for "having been agoranomos in the second semester of that year." In Gerasa,<sup>34</sup> in A.D. 42 and 43 (or later), two citizens are praised for having been gymnasiarchs during the first semester of their respective years and for having given oil to the city (for the contests) and money to the temple of the Olympian Zeus. In 46/45 B.C., a lady is honored in Seleucia Pieriae<sup>35</sup> for having

<sup>30</sup> G. F. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. CIX. These marks should of course not be confused with very similar ones on late Cilician coins, on which they are marks of value: BMC, *Lycania* etc., p. 291.

<sup>31</sup> G. F. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 161, nos. 116; 117.

<sup>32</sup> B. Haussoulter and H. Ingholt, *Syria* V, 1924, p. 323; L. Robert, *Syria*, VI, 1925, p. 365: ἀρχαντα τὴν β' ἐξάμηνον.

<sup>33</sup> R. Mouterde, *Mélanges de l'Univ. St. Joseph*, XXVI, 1946, p. 61; no. 12: ἀγορανομήσαντα τῆς δευτέρας ἐξαμήνου τοῦ ἐπρ' ἔτους.

<sup>34</sup> *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, p. 374, no. 3; 375, no. 4 (C. B. Welles): γυμνασιάρχους τὴν πρώτην ἐξάμηνον.

<sup>35</sup> P. Perdrizet and Ch. Fossey, *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, XXI, 1897, p. 75: ἡρασαμένη ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐξαμήνῳ τοῦ θξ' ἔτους. The absence of *iota adscriptum* is incompatible with a Seleucid date. The era is that of the liberty of Seleucia.

exercised a priesthood during the first semester of the year. A weight, apparently found in Gaza,<sup>36</sup> and probably to be dated A.D. 25/26 according to the era of that city, is signed by a certain Alexandros, who was agoranomos in the second semester of that year. And finally another weight, preserved in Rome<sup>37</sup> and possibly Syrian, mentions another agoranomos as having held his office for a semester.

It was, therefore, a common practice in the more important cities on the Syrian coast, for magistrates and priests to remain in function only one half of the year. Probably the burden of public office was too heavy to be carried by most individuals during a whole year.

The custom of putting dates and various mint-marks on coins probably arose from the wish to be able to identify the authorities responsible for each issue. In cases when the magistrates or officials entrusted with the striking of coins were not annual, but semestrial, it was normal that the date should be semestrial as well: some cities even dated their issues by months.<sup>38</sup> It will be noted that at Sidon, the mention of the semester on a coin is always exclusive of any magistrate's initials or monogram, as if it was sufficient in itself to identify the issue and to define the responsible authority.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. orient.*, III, p. 82 ff., pl. II: *ἔτους σπ', β' εξαμήνου, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλφίου ἀγορανόμου*.—Clermont-Ganneau was embarrassed by the date, as the aspect of the weight and its lettering seemed to him incompatible with A.D. 25/26. He therefore suggested an attribution to Ascalon, which would allow the date to be A.D. 190. After having handled large numbers of Syrian lead weights, I must say that the lettering of this specimen seems to me entirely in accordance with what might be expected in A.D. 25, and that the attribution to Gaza, if otherwise justified, is certainly acceptable on that account. The date of A.D. 190, on the contrary, is very difficult to reconcile with that form of lettering.

<sup>37</sup> Secchi, *Campione d'antica bilibra* (Rome 1835), p. 16 (IG xiv 2417): *ἀγορανομῶντος τὴν ἐξάμηνον Τ. Αἰλίου Δομιτιανοῦ*.—Father Secchi says that "la sua greca iscrizione corrosa nel rovescio e quasi totalmente perduta." It would be worth while, trying to find this weight, which is now presumably in the Museo delle Terme: perhaps it is still possible to make out the name of the city who issued it.

<sup>38</sup> See the coins attributed to Seleucia on the Tigris: G. F. Hill, BMC, *Arabia* etc., pp. 143 ff.; R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 103; 138.

It seems likely that the two Phoenician letters *aleph* and *beth* on the silver of Tyre have the same meaning as the corresponding Greek letters on the coins of Sidon. It has been noted above that these letters are absent, in Tyre, only on the coins of the city's first year. If our explanation is correct, it will also explain that peculiar absence. In that year (126/125 B.C.), indeed, the mint of Tyre first issued numerous coins of Demetrius II.<sup>39</sup> Thereupon the city received its liberty, and at once began to strike her own silver, dated year 1. But that year, of course, consisted only in the months that were left over after liberty had been proclaimed: there probably was no room, then, for two semesters, and the authorities responsible for the issue could be identified without that mention.

### 3. WAYS OF INTRODUCING A DATE ON SYRIAN COINS

On many Syrian coins, the date is introduced by the sign L. The following survey, although probably not exhaustive, is an attempt to define the area in which that custom prevailed, and is mainly concerned with the Hellenistic period. In imperial times, dates become rarer, and no longer obey the rather strict rules to which they had previously been submitted. Current references to the London and Paris catalogues, probably accessible to most readers, are omitted.

To begin with Hellenistic Phoenicia, the towns of Berytus, Botrys, Byblus, Dora and Orthosia seem never to have omitted the sign L. For Berytus, the rule is confirmed by six leaden weights,<sup>40</sup> with dates ranging from

<sup>39</sup> E. Rogers, *Second and Third Seleucid Coinages of Tyre*, nos. 117–120; E. T. Newell, *Seleucid coinages of Tyre*, no. 116a.

<sup>40</sup> E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catal. des bronzes antiques de la Bibl. Nat.*, no. 2250; J. Rouvier, *Rev. num.*, 1897, pp. 369 f.; *Suppl. epigr. graec.*, VII, 806 (but the correct reading is: L κσ', Δάμωρος ἀγορά., Δ). The three other weights are not yet published.

155/154 to 93/92 B.C. It was also usual in Ptolemais (with one exception in 126/125 B.C.), in Sidon (with one exception in 36/35 B.C.), and on the bronze of Tripolis. In Tyre, and on the silver of Tripolis, the sign L is used, for the sake of clarity, whenever the date is made of a single figure: in dates of two or three figures, the sign is dropped, as if the figures were clear enough by themselves.

In Palestine, the sign L is constant with the dates of Ascalon (down to the time of Augustus) and Gaza (down to Vespasian); in the latter town, it is also found on a leaden weight of 149/148 B.C.<sup>41</sup> Caesarea, Neapolis, Nysa, Sebaste, who had never enjoyed an autonomous coinage, use it on some of their imperial coins. The Herodian dynasty uses it down to A.D. 78, and it is found on the coins of the Procurators between A.D. 5/6 and 58/59.

In Coele Syria, the same sign is in use among the tetrarchs of Chalcis. Damascus introduces it on her coins under the reign of Cleopatra,<sup>42</sup> and keeps it, with rare exceptions, down to A.D. 16/17. In the inscriptions of the great temple of Jupiter Damascenus,<sup>43</sup> the sign L is used in A.D. 15/16, but is replaced by the word *ἔτους* in 37/28 and 90/91.

In the Decapolis, finally, it is constant, down to the Flavians, on the coins of Gadara (the only town to have enjoyed a pre-imperial coinage). The writer knows of one instance of it on a coin of Gerasa,<sup>44</sup> in A.D. 67/68, but it is

<sup>41</sup> Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeol. Res. in Palestine*, II, 1896, p. 399, note; cf. E. Michon, "Pondus" (*Dict. des antiquités*), p. 556.

<sup>42</sup> The first issues of Cleopatra in Damascus are simply dated *σοο'* and *ζσοο'* (G. Macdonald, *Cat. of the Hunter. Coll.*, III, p. 218, no. 1; BMC, *Galatia* etc., p. 282, no. 1). In the next issue, however, L is introduced: L *πσ'* (coin in the Leake Coll. in Cambridge, published in Leake's *Numismata Hellenica*, Asiatic Greece, p. 51).

<sup>43</sup> C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus die Antike Stadt*, pp. 28-31. On the correct date of these texts, see *Syria*, XXVII, 1950, pp. 34ff.

<sup>44</sup> A. Kirkbride, *Bull. Amer. Schools of Oriental Res.*, 106, 1947, p. 5, no. 2: L *λρ'* (year 130 of the Gerasene era).

also found on a leaden weight of that city<sup>45</sup> as early as 143/142 B.C.

It is well known that L, preceding a date, is a characteristically Ptolemaic sign. The area in which it is found on Syrian coins and weights is therefore, not unnaturally, the area that had been occupied by the Lagids in the third century: Palestine, the Decapolis, Coele Syria, Phoenicia south of the Eleutherus. It is evidently during that early period that municipal tradition had been formed.

In Damascus, the ephemeral domination of Cleopatra also seems to have encouraged its use. On the contrary, there does not seem to be a single example of it in the central parts of the Seleucid dominions.<sup>46</sup> But a more typical fact is its total absence from Phoenicia north of the Eleutherus. Ptolemaic domination in those parts had always been mitigated, and the coins of Aradus and her colonies on the mainland, dated without the help of the sign L, give an additional proof of the peculiar independence which that district was able to maintain throughout the Hellenistic period.

The regions, where the sign L, is used on coins, also use it in inscriptions, but only in a sporadic fashion.<sup>47</sup>

It would be interesting to search for traces of the same custom in such parts of Asia Minor, as were subjected to Ptolemaic rule or influence. The sign L, occurs at least on

<sup>45</sup> *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, p. 461, no. 251. My reading of the original is: L op', 'Αντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Χρυσ., ἐπὶ Μελεάγρου, ὀγδὼν. The era is Seleucid. So dated, the weight fits perfectly into a series of similar objects, dated from the middle of the second century B.C. See *Bull. du musée de Beyrouth*, VIII, 1949, pp. 46-47, nos. 7-9.

<sup>46</sup> It is true that W. Ensslin, *Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, XII, p. 133, note 3, proposes to correct Malalas XII, p. 296, 9 (Bonn), by reading LTI instead of ΔΤΙ: a very hazardous conjecture.

<sup>47</sup> In *Gerasa (Gerasa, City of the Decapolis, The Inscriptions)*, by C. B. Welles for instance, there are only four examples: no. 5 (A.D. 69/70); 49 (67/68); 116 (92/93); 181 (A.D. 117); perhaps also 43 (A.D. 156); also the inscription from Suf, near Gerasa: W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis gr. inscr. sel.*, 620 (A.D. 98/99). For Tyre: *ibid.*, 594 (A.D. 81).

some issues of Alabanda.<sup>48</sup> It is of course current in the inscriptions of Cyprus.

In the remaining parts of Syria, towns with a Hellenistic coinage (Antioch, Apamea, Balanea, Gabala, Laodicea, Larissa, Rhosus and Seleucia) use plain dates like Aradus and Marathus, without any introductory sign or term. The word *ἔτους*, and its abbreviations, is always a late appearance on coins: it is first found under Cleopatra at Chalcis ad Libanum;<sup>48a</sup> under Augustus at Antioch; under Claudius at Apamea and Rhosus; under Elagabalus at Aradus; in other towns, later still, or never. In Palestine, where it replaces the sign L on the coins of the Herodian dynasty after A.D. 79, it is current on the imperial issues of most towns.

Leaden weights, the surface of which offers more space than the field of a coin, still avoided the word *ἔτους* in the second century B.C. It first appears on them, in Antioch, in the middle of the first century B.C.<sup>49</sup>

The coins of the Seleucids have plain dates, without introductory sign. Exceptions are confined to Phoenician and Palestinian mints, and concern the sign L. On the silver, which was probably subjected to a tighter control, they are few and generally late.<sup>50</sup> They are much more common on the bronze, where the frequency of local types also shows a greater measure of municipal initiative. The coinage of Tryphon at Byblus and Ptolemais uses the

<sup>48</sup> E. Babelon, *Mél. de num.*, I, p. 12 ( L , A ); S. W. Grose, *Catal. of the McClean Coll.*, no. 8440 (LΔ).

<sup>48a</sup> *Syria*, XXVII, 1950, p. 45, cf. 49.

<sup>49</sup> E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catal. des bronzes antiques de la Bibl. Nat.*, nos. 2246; 2248.

<sup>50</sup> An unpublished Phoenician tetradrachm in the American University, Beyrouth, bears the portrait and name of Alexander I, with the date L *σθ*, the monogram *Ξ* and the mint-mark *π* (Ptolemais). On later issues of the same mint, see E. T. Newell, *Late Seleucid Mints*, pp. 37 f. Also the issues of Antiochus VIII in Ascalon: E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, no. 1402; P. Gardner, BMC, *Seleuc. Kings*, p. 91, no. 3; A. Bellinger, *The End of the Seleucids*, pp. 89 f.

sign L before the regnal year; but precisely because Tryphon was no Seleucid and had repudiated both the era and the usual titles of that dynasty.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See above, p. 12.

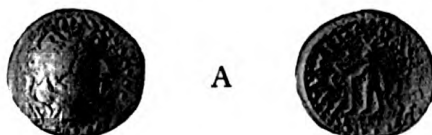




## PLATES

TRYPHON

PLATE I



TRYPHON

PLATE II



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21



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23



24



31



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30



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 120

EARLY ARABIC GLASS  
WEIGHTS AND STAMPS  
A SUPPLEMENT

By GEORGE C. MILES



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*Number 120*

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*Early Arabic  
Glass Weights and Stamps:  
A Supplement*

BY GEORGE C. MILES



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
NEW YORK  
1951

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## EARLY ARABIC GLASS WEIGHTS AND STAMPS: A SUPPLEMENT

Since the publication of *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*,<sup>1</sup> the Museum of the American Numismatic Society has acquired a number of unpublished weights and stamps of the same early Islamic period dealt with in that volume. Twenty-three of these pieces were acquired from an antique dealer in Cairo and have come to the Museum as the generous gift of Mr. Louis H. Schroeder, whose earlier benefactions to the Society have been recorded in the *Proceedings*.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the Museum has purchased from Cairo eleven other pieces, through the helpful agency of Dr. Harold W. Glidden. Two more are the gift of M. Marcel Jungfleisch, a resident of Cairo and an active numismatist. These additions to the Society's collection are of sufficient importance to warrant their publication as a supplement to *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the occasion of the present little book presents an opportunity to describe a few additional pieces in other collections that have come to the writer's attention. These include five specimens in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, which the Director of that museum, Mr. Gerard Brett, has kindly

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. III (New York, 1948). A brief article based on some of the contents of the present volume has appeared under the title, "Cumin and Vinegar for Hiccups, A Note on Pharmaceutical Archaeology", in *Archaeology*, Vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 1951), pp. 23-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the American Numismatic Society*, 1947, pp. 15-17; 1948, p. 8. A few Fāṭimid glass weights, not relevant here, were included in Mr. Schroeder's latest gift.

<sup>3</sup> Hereafter referred to as *EAG*.

allowed me to study and publish;<sup>4</sup> and one weight in the Streeter Collection of weights and measures in the Historical Library of the Yale University School of Medicine.<sup>5</sup> Professor Thomas O. Mabbott of Hunter College has been good enough to let me examine his collection, and a few references are made to some of his pieces. Finally, one ring-weight, listed in *EAG* but then undeciphered, is reconsidered and identified, and two other similar ones are briefly discussed. A few miscellaneous observations and corrections, appended at the end of the catalogue, derive partly from the kindly criticisms of reviewers and correspondents, and partly from my own rereading and use of the book.

It will be noted that in the present catalogue a very considerable amount of space has been devoted to observations on the seeds and other substances named on the vessel stamps — an aspect of the study of these objects neglected in *EAG*. In one case (no. 41, a “measure of sugar”) the commentary has become a very long digression on the history of the introduction of sugar cane into Egypt, which it is hoped will be not without interest to the general reader. Research in connection with the indicated contents of the vessels has led me to propose an entirely new explanation of the use of these stamps — i.e., that the vessels to which they were attached were used by druggists as measuring cups and containers for pharmaceuticals — and pp. 49-53 at the end of the book are concerned with a discussion of this idea and of related questions.

<sup>4</sup> A few others in the same collection not meriting full descriptions are referred to in passing. I have to thank Mr. F. H. Armstrong for sending me casts of all the early Arabic glass pieces in the Toronto Museum.

<sup>5</sup> A catalogue of the 106, mostly Fāṭimid, glass pieces in that collection has been prepared by the writer; a brief summary of the contents of the Streeter Collection appeared in the *Report of the Historical Library, 1948-1949* (Yale University School of Medicine), p. 16. I am grateful to Dr. John F. Fulton and Miss Madeline E. Stanton for their cooperation in putting the Streeter Collection at my disposal for study.

The pieces described here are arranged in the same order as that followed in *EAG*. Nos. 1–32 are in chronological sequence; nos. 33–36 belong to unidentified officials; nos. 37–43 are anonymous. The pertinent references to *EAG* are given in square brackets after the first occurrence of the name of an official whose glass weights and stamps are discussed in that volume; and the same abbreviations for cited works are used as those listed in *EAG*, pp. 159–160. New references and sources, of which there is a goodly number, especially in connection with the commentary on the substances mentioned on the vessel stamps, are cited in full on their first occurrence and thereafter are abbreviated in readily recognizable form.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> May I express here my sincere thanks to Mr. G. L. Whittrock of the New York Botanical Garden and to Miss Elizabeth Hall, Librarian of the same institution, for their kindly guidance in my use of the modern botanical literature; and to my friend Dr. Archibald Malloch, formerly Librarian of the New York Academy of Medicine, who read through the entire manuscript.

## CATALOGUE

1. Dinar weight. The Caliph Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik,  
96-99 A.H. = 715-717 A.D.

امر به  
عبد الله  
سليمن امير  
المؤمنين

“Ordered it the Servant of Allāh,  
Sulaymān, Commander of the Be-  
lievers.”

Nearly opaque, magenta. 27 mm. 3.91 grm.  
Streeter Collection, Historical Library, Yale  
University School of Medicine.

So far as I know this is the only glass weight or stamp bearing the name of the Caliph Sulaymān that has come to light.<sup>7</sup> ‘Abdullāh is the usual epithet of the Caliphs. The weight is doubtless intended to be that of a dinar, but there is a marked deficiency, probably due to wear. Cf. *EAG*, pp. 4-5.

2. Dirhem weight. Usāmah b. Zayd, Finance Director,  
96-99 A.H. = 714-717 A.D., Interim Governor, 102  
A.H. = 720-721 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 72-73.]

اسامه  
بن زيد

“Usāmah b. Zayd.”

Pale green. 26 mm. 2.83 grm.  
ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

<sup>7</sup> R. Ettinghausen (*The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, II, p. 75, footnote 8) listed the known pieces issued in the names of Umayyad Caliphs. My belief that the attribution of certain pieces to Yazīd I is to be rejected is expressed below, p. 8. To Ettinghausen's list should be added those of ‘Abd al-Malik, Yazīd II (no. 3 below) and Hishām, in L'Émir Djafar Abdel-Kader, “Monnaies musulmanes et poids en verre inédits”, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, I (Paris, 1939), pp. 399-400.

Similar to Petrie, no. 88. This weight, which is intact and shows little wear, is, like most dirhems and dirhem weights, somewhat beneath the theoretical legal standard. Cf. *EAG*, p. 6. The specimen published by Petrie weighs 2.86 grams.

3. Dinar weight. ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, Finance Director, 102-116 A.H. = 720-734 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 75-80.]

مما امر به  
عبيد الله ا  
بن الحبحاب  
مثقال د  
ينر واف

“Of what ordered ‘Ubaydullāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb: weight of a dīnār, full weight.”

Green. 28.5 mm. 4.16 grm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

There is a dinar weight of this official, with a different legend, in the University College collection (Petrie, no. 99). The weight is only a few hundredths of a gram beneath the legal standard. Cf. *EAG*, pp. 4-5.

4. Vessel stamp, one-quarter *qisṭ* of olive oil. ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb.

Similar to *EAG*, no. 21.

Green. 39 × 33 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

5. Vessel stamp, measure of woad-leaves (?). ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb.

بسم الله  
امر عبيد الله  
بن الحبحاب  
بطبعه مكيه  
[و؟] سمة وافية

“In the name of Allāh: ordered ‘Ubaydullāh ibn an-Ḥabḥāb the stamping of it: measure of woad-leaves (?), full measure.”

Green. 41 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The reading of the substance which this vessel was designed to contain is submitted with some reserve. The fifth line of the legend is slightly blurred at the right and it is difficult to say whether there is an effaced letter there or not. When the piece is held in certain lights there appears to be the outline of a *waw*; and if there is a letter missing, the only possibility seems to be that letter, giving us *wasmah* (or *wusmah*, or *wasimah*), "woad-leaves," the chief source of indigo dye in Europe until relatively modern times. Woad, or *Isatis tinctoria* of the family *Cruciferae*, was well known to the Arab druggists as the plant from which indigo, or *nīl*, was derived, and it was sometimes confused with the dye itself. According to Meyerhof and Sobhy, the description of *wasmah* given by Ghāfiqi (d. ca. 1160 A.D.) is not identical with that of *Isatis tinctoria* in Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*; possibly it was a Spanish variety known as *Isatis lusitanica*. While the Arab botanical and pharmaceutical compilers usually wrote of woad only in connection with the dye, used principally for the hair along with henna, it may be that Arab druggists recognized the same imagined medicinal properties of the plant as those described by the Greeks. For example, Dioscorides recommended woad-leaves as a plaster for ulcers and tumors or as a conglutinant. Woad-leaves contain the glucoside *indican*, and when rubbed give off a penetrating smell. This may have been the reason for their early medicinal use. Incidentally Queen Elizabeth is said to have forbidden the cultivation of woad because she disliked its odor. The plant and die were of course known to the Britains in pre-Roman times.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, I<sup>8</sup>, pp. 3053-4; Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, p. 805; Ahmed Issa Bey, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en Latin, Français, Anglais et Arabe* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 98, 101; Dioscorides, II, no. 215 (Gunther, p. 228). I have used the re-edition of the early English translation, Robert T. Gunther, *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, Oxford, 1934; the authoritative edition is that of Max Well-



In Professor Mabbott's collection there is a fragmentary disk-weight issued in the name of 'Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, with a very poorly preserved stamp, apparently a one-half *raṭl*.

6. Vessel stamp, uncertain measure. Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd(?), Governor and Finance Director at various times between 108 and 128 A.H. = 727 and 746 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 81-83.]

[بسم الله مر  
[الا] مير حفص [بن]... "In the name of Allāh: order of the  
[الو] ليد (٩) ..... Amīr Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd (?). . . . ."

.....

Green. 35 × 29 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

This specimen is imperfectly preserved and the fragmentary reading is by no means certain.

7. Vessel stamp, one-quarter *qisṭ* of olive oil. The Caliph Yazīd II (101-105 A.H. = 720-724 A.D.) or Yazīd III (126 A.H. = 744 A.D.).

mann, 3 vols., Berlin, 1906-14. Al-Ghāfiqī, M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, *The abridged version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghāfiqī by Gregorius Abu'l-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, The Egyptian University, Faculty of Medicine, Publication no. 4 (Cairo, 1932-1940), no. 276, pp. 572-415; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiyah wa'l-Aghdhiyah*, transl. L. Leclerc, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (vols. XXIII<sup>1</sup>, XXV<sup>1</sup>, XXVI<sup>1</sup>, 1877-1883), no. 2291, vol. XXVI<sup>1</sup>, pp. 413-414. Reno Muschler, *A Manual Flora of Egypt* (Berlin, 1912), I, p. 428; M. Grieve, *A Modern Herbal* (New York, 1931), II, pp. 852-853 (mentioning the use of woad leaves as a plaster applied to the region of the spleen and as an ointment for ulcers, inflammations, etc., and to stanch bleeding). For the use of indigo dye by the Arabs cf. R. B. Serjeant in *Ars Islamica*, XIII-XIV, p. 117; indigo in Persia and China is discussed by Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, vol. XV, no. 3, Chicago, 1919), pp. 370-371.

امر عبد الله  
 [يز] يد امير المؤمنين  
 ربع قسط  
 [ا] لزيت وافء...  
 .....

"Order of the Servant of Allāh,  
 Yazīd, Commander of the Believers:  
 one-quarter *qisṭ* of olive oil, full  
 measure; at...."

Pale green. 39 mm.

Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (948.226.25).<sup>9</sup>

This piece is identical with Petrie no. 86, on which it is reasonably clear that the name is "Yazīd" and not "Walīd". Lacking the date, or the name of the prefect (which undoubtedly is contained in the last line, which as on the University College specimen is largely obliterated), it is impossible to attribute the piece more exactly. I reject the possibility of an attribution to Yazīd I (60–64 A.H. = 680–684 A.D.), despite the fact that Petrie assigned his no. 86, and Casanova attributed a somewhat similar piece in the Fouquet Collection<sup>10</sup> to that Caliph. Casanova's argument<sup>11</sup> to the effect that the Fouquet piece must belong to Yazīd I because of the absence of the name of the Finance Director is not convincing. I have already expressed the view that the piece attributed by Casanova to 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir (44 A.H.) is to be rejected,<sup>12</sup> and it now appears to me that my statement that stamps of the Caliph Yazīd are known<sup>13</sup> is to be strongly qualified. We have no definitely datable purely Arabic glass weight or vessel stamp earlier than those of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (65–86 A.H. = 685–705 A.D.).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This piece was purchased from the Brummer Collection and is said to have come from Fustāṭ.

<sup>10</sup> P. 366, no. 95.

<sup>11</sup> P. 343; cf. p. 367, footnote 1.

<sup>12</sup> *EAG*, p. 3, footnote 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Paris (I), p. XLV, and Dja'far Abd-al-Kader, "Deux unités pondérales musulmanes omayyades", *Berytus*, II (1935), pp. 139–140.

8. *Fals al-kabīr* of 30 *kharrūbah*. Al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh, Finance Director, 116–124 A.H. = 734–742 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 83–88.]

بسم الله  
 مما امر به ا  
 لقاسم بن عبيد  
 (sic) الله مثقال فلس  
 الكبير ثنتين خر  
 وبة زن  
 و

“In the name of Allāh: of what ordered al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh: weight of *fals al-kabīr* of thirty *kharrūbah* weight.”

Green. 34 mm. 5.83 grm.

ANS (Gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

One tooth is omitted from the *sīn* of the word *fals*. The last word is curiously written: one might expect *wāfi*, but the second letter of the word on line 6 cannot be read *fā*, and the letter preceding it is too small for *alif*. Hence *wazn* seems more likely, although in this case the *zā* is reversed. A further peculiarity is the disposition of the letters, with the first letter (if indeed it is *waw*; it is to be admitted that it looks more like a final *fā*) on the last line. The piece is identical in every respect, including the weight, 5.83 grams, with *BM* no. 5, on which Lane-Poole read *wāfi* without comment, and with Petrie, nos. 112–114, two of which weigh 5.83 and 5.86 grams. The weight is very close to the true average of intact 30-*kharrūbah* pieces (5.841 grams) and to the theoretical weight based on 1 *kharrūbah* = .1968 grams.<sup>15</sup> The *fals* of 30 *kharrūbah* published by Jungfleisch,<sup>16</sup> also issued by Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh but with different legends and not denominated *al-kabīr*, weighed “environ” 5.80 grams.

9. Fragment of ring-weight, one-half *raṭl* of meat, dated 123 (?) A.H. = 740–741 (?) A.D. Al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydullāh and uncertain prefect.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *EAG*, pp. 9–11.

<sup>16</sup> P. 67.

[بسم الله  
 امر الله بالو  
 فاوامر بطبعه  
 نصف رطل اللحم  
 القاسم بن عبيد  
 الله على يدى...  
 ... بن ايمن [؟] سنة [؟]  
 ... وعشرين  
 [ومئة ؟]

"In the name of Allāh: commanded  
 Allāh honesty: and ordered the  
 stamping of it, one-half *ratl* of meat,  
 al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, at the  
 hands of ..... b. Ayman (?),  
 year ... and twenty [and one  
 hundred?]."

Green. Di. 52 × 42 mm. Thickness: 19 mm.  
 ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

Very little of the original ring-weight is preserved, the piece consisting only of the top surface of approximately the same diameter as the stamp. The under side of the piece shows a part of the smooth surface of the inside of the "ring" and the sides are both fractured. The piece is too fragmentary to be of use in determining the weight of the meat *ratl*.

Unfortunately the last four lines, which might have added something to our knowledge of the prefects who served under al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, are imperfectly engraved, imprinted and preserved. The first name of the prefect is wholly illegible, although it is probably the same name as that which I have tentatively read "Dā'ūd" on *EAG* nos. 34 and 38. On Petrie no. 117 (a dirhem weight), "Dā'ūd" is reasonably clear, and is followed by the same letters as those which appear here and on *EAG* no. 34, and which I now read "Ayman". Comparing especially the University College piece and the present one, I am certain that my tentative reconstruction of "Ja'far" on line 7 of *EAG* no. 34 is wrong. The digit of the date is missing here, but "three" seems to be fairly clear on Petrie no. 117 and possible on *EAG* no. 34, and it is therefore not unlikely that 123 A.H. is the date on the present piece. This date was within al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh's term, and the dates of his known prefects do

not conflict. Dā'ūd b. Ayman (if such be his name) appears however to be unknown in the written histories.

10. Vessel stamp, *qisṭ*, dated 119 A.H. = 737 A.D. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh; prefect, Muslim b. al-'Arāf. [*EAG*, pp. 83-84, 88-89.]

بسم الله ا  
[مرا] لله بالوفا  
[وا]مر بطبعة  
هذا القسط [ا]  
لقاسم بن عبيد [ا]  
له على يدى مسلم [بن]  
الراف سنة  
تسع عشرة و  
[م] ائة

"In the name of Allāh: commanded Allāh honesty; and ordered the stamping of this *qisṭ* al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, at the hands of Muslim b. al-'Arāf, year nineteen and one hundred."

Dark green. 43 mm.

ANS (gift of Marcel Jungfleisch, March, 1949).

11. Vessel stamp, one-quarter *qisṭ*, dated 119 A.H. = 737 A.D. Same officials as no. 10.

بسم الله ا  
مر الله بالو [فا]  
وامر بطبعه  
ربع قسط القا  
سم بن عبيد [ا]  
على يدى مسلم  
بن الراف [سنة]  
تسع عشرة ومئة

"In the name of Allāh: commanded Allāh honesty; and ordered the stamping of it, one-quarter *qisṭ*, al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh, at the hands of Muslim b. al-'Arāf, year nineteen and one hundred."

Green. 40 mm.

ANS (gift of Marcel Jungfleisch, March, 1949).

These two vessel stamps confirm unequivocally the reading of the name of the prefect, Muslim (or Musallam) b. al-'Arāf,

about which my doubts were expressed in *EAG*, pp. 88–89. In correspondence M. Jungfleisch was kind enough to point out that the name appeared clear on specimens he had seen, and he very generously donated these two confirmatory pieces to the Museum. There can now be no doubt whatever that *EAG* no. 30 contains an engraver's error. M. Jungfleisch has written me that he considers errors of this sort to be an intentional expedient to distinguish the work of different workshops — a view with which I find it difficult to agree.

12. Vessel stamp, one-quarter (*qist*?), dated 122 A.H. = 739–40 A.D. Al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaydullāh; prefect, Ṣafwān b. Shabbah (?).

Similar to *EAG* no. 36, but better preserved.

Green. 39 × 36 mm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The name “Zafar” on this specimen might be read, as on *EAG* no. 36, although one cannot say that the second letter of the name (at the end of the line) is definitely *zā'*. Furthermore a reexamination of Petrie, no. 109 (a *raṭl* weight), which I overlooked in *EAG*, and which obviously bears the same prefect's name, shows very clearly that there is a fourth letter in the name. Is it perhaps *صغون* for *صغوان*? However, M. Jungfleisch writes me of a number of specimens on which *ظفار* is clear. The name of the father certainly is *not* “Qutaybah (?)”, as given in *EAG* no. 36 (cf. the comment on pp. 86–87, 89). On the present piece (as on Petrie, no. 109) Shabbah can be read, but we are no closer to the identification of the prefect. The *waw* connecting “twenty” and “one hundred” of the date is preserved at the end of the next to last line.

13. Fragment of ring-weight. 'Isā b. abī-'Aṭā, Finance Director, 125–127, 128–131 A.H. = 743–745, 745–749 A.D.; prefect, Yazīd b. abī-Yazīd. [*EAG*, pp. 89–94.]

Large stamp:

بسم الله	
امر الله بالو	
فا و امر عيسى	
...[بن اى ع]ط[ا]	“In the name of Allāh: commanded Allāh honesty; and ordered ‘Isā b. abī-‘Aṭā....”
.....	
.....	

Small stamp:

على [يدى]	
يز [د بن ا]	
بى [يزيد]	“At the hands of Yazīd b. abī-Yazīd.”

Green. Approx. di. of large stamp: 38 mm.; small stamp: 20 mm.

Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (939.7.89).<sup>17</sup>

The small stamp, which can be reconstructed because of our knowledge of the association of ‘Isā b. abī-‘Aṭā and Yazīd b. abī-Yazīd (cf. *EAG*, p. 93), is probably similar to *EAG* no. 48.

14. Vessel stamp, one-quarter *qisṭ* of olive oil. Yazīd d. abī-Yazīd, prefect *ca.* 116–127 A.H. = 734–745 A.D., Finance Director (?), *ca.* 127 A.H. = 745 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 91–94.]

[ا]مر يزيد	
بن ابي يزيد ر	
بع قسط ز	
بت واف	“Ordered Yazīd b. abī-Yazīd: one-quarter <i>qisṭ</i> of olive oil, full measure.”

Olive green. 33 × 30 mm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The absence of the phrase *‘alā yaday*, and of the title *amīr*, suggests that this stamp was issued during the time (*ca.* 127

<sup>17</sup> This piece is from the Egypt Exploration Society’s expedition to Armant (cf. Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant* (1940), G 9, pp. 124, 209).

H.A.) when Yazīd b. abī-Yazīd was probably acting temporarily as Finance Director (cf. *EAG*, p. 93).

There is a fragmentary ring-weight for a *raṭl* (or two?) of meat in Professor Mabbott's collection, probably bearing the name of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (*EAG*, pp. 94-95).

15. Vessel stamp, measure of lupine. The Caliph al-Manṣūr, 136-158 A.H. = 754-775 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 97-101.]

امر عبد	
[الله عبد الله]	"Ordered the Servant of Allāh,
[امير المؤمنين]	'Abdullāh, Commander of the Be-
[خط] به مكي	lievers, the stamping of it, measure
[ة] ر مس و	of lupine, full measure."
اف	

Green. 44 × 34 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The word *turmus* derives from the Greek Θέρμος or the Coptic Θαρμος, and was used by the Arabs as the generic name for the lupine, *Lupinus albus* (or *sativus*), of the family *Leguminosae*. Specifically, *turmus* (of eastern Mediterranean countries) would appear to apply to *Lupinus termis* (sometimes called *proliferatus*), which is one of two scarcely distinguishable races of *Lupinus albus*, the other being *vulgaris*. According to Ibn al-Bayṭār the lupine, in addition to its food value, "purifies the viscera" and is recommended for children and the aged who cannot take other purgatives; lotions derived from the seed were reported to be effective against bed-bugs. Dioscorides likewise includes the cultivated lupine (*Lupinus pilosus*?) in the *materia medica*: it was used against worms, as a fomentation, a diuretic, in the treatment of skin diseases, as an appetizer, etc., etc. Until relatively recent times the lupine had a place in pharmacology; for example, the seeds of white lupine were used for making cataplasms in the same manner as flaxseed. Today a number of



related but irregular poisonous alkaloids are recognized in the plants of the genus *Lupinus*.<sup>18</sup>

16. Vessel stamp, measure of white cumin. The Caliph al-Manṣūr.

امر عبد الله  
عبد الله امير  
المؤمنين [بطبعه ؟]  
مكيّة كمن  
الايش و  
اف

“Ordered the Servant of Allāh, ‘Abdullāh, Commander of the Believers, [the stamping of it?], measure of white cumin, full measure.”

Green. 44 × 39 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

A sizable fragment of the rim and wall of the vessel remains attached to the stamp. It is interesting to note that the rim is rolled over from the inside, leaving a hollow crevice between the lip and the top of the vessel wall.

*Kammūn*, from a Semitic root, is, by way of the Greek *kyminon* and Latin *cuminum*, the origin of our English word “cumin”, the dwarf plant *Cuminum cyminum*, of the family *Umbelliferae* (*Ammiaceae*). It is native to Egypt and Syria and is widely cultivated for its aromatic seeds. Cumin apparently penetrated from Iran to Egypt at an early date. *Kammūn abyāḍ* (“white cumin”), among the Egyptian Arabs at least, is the common *Cuminum cyminum* and is frequently referred to simply as *kammūn*, without qualification; today the same name is sometimes used synonymously for *ānīsūn*,

<sup>18</sup> Lane, I<sup>1</sup>, p. 306; Ahmed Issa, p. 112; Dioscorides, II, no. 132 (Gunther, p. 144), Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 406 (vol. XXIII<sup>1</sup>, pp. 304–306); Ernest Sickenberger, “Les plantes Égyptiennes d’Ibn el Beitar” in *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien*, ser. 2, no. 10 (1889, publ. 1890), p. 9; Muschler, I, pp. 474–475; George Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta, 1889–1896), L. 578; U. P. Hedrick, *Sturtevant’s Notes on Edible Plants* (Albany, 1919), p. 342; Grieve, II, pp. 502–503; Gustav Hegi, *Illustrierte Flora von Mittel-Europa*, IV<sup>3</sup> (Munich, no date), p. 1153; *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*, 24th edition (1947), p. 1508.

which is the *Pimpinella anisum* or *Anisum vulgare* of the same family, i. e., "anise" or "sweet cumin." The mediaeval Arabs knew several varieties of cumin, Avicenna distinguishing among that of Kirmān ("black"), of Persia ("yellow"), which was the commonest, of Syria, and of Nabataea. In addition there was كمن حبشى "Abyssinian cumin," also called كمن اسود, "black cumin," which was defined as "wild cumin," as was كمن برى; and كمن ارمنى, "Armenian cumin," synonymous with كراويا or "caraway." The vessel to which the present stamp was attached contained specifically "white cumin," and this doubtless was the "Persian" variety, to use the classical Arabic terminology.

In the view of the early Arab pharmacologists cumin, roasted and steeped in vinegar was effective as a stomachic and as an emmenagogue, while Dioscorides, who stated that the best variety was grown in Lycia, Galatia and "Carthage of Spain," prescribed the seed with water as a cure for tormina and inflations, with vinegar for hiccups, and with wine against poison. These ancient and mediaeval uses of cumin for medicinal purposes were not without some justification; *Cumini fructus* is in the *Dispensatory* today and is still recognized as a stimulant, antispasmodic and carminative. Because of its disagreeable taste its use is now largely restricted to veterinary medicine.<sup>19</sup>

It is of interest to note that there were also vessel stamps for *kammūn aswad*, "black cumin";<sup>20</sup> and for *kammūn* without qualification,<sup>21</sup> this latter probably being the same

<sup>19</sup> Ahmed Issa, pp. 62, 140; Dioscorides, III, no. 69 (Gunther, p. 303); Ibn al-Bayṭār, nos. 1967–1972, vol. XXVI<sup>1</sup>, pp. 196–200, no. 1913, *ibid.*, pp. 164–5; Muschler, II, pp. 716–717; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 383; John U. Lloyd, *Origin and History of all the Pharmacopoeial Vegetable Drugs* (Cincinnati, 1929), p. 50; Hedrick, p. 223; Grieve, I, pp. 242–243; Watt, C. 2347; *Dispensatory*, p. 1417; Noel L. Allport, *The Chemistry and Pharmacology of Vegetable Drugs* (Brooklyn, 1944), p. 164.

<sup>20</sup> Fouquet Collection, p. 364, nos. 60–61.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369, no. 137.

as *kammūn abyad* (see above). As for the former, it is impossible to determine the exact significance. "Black cumin" may have been either the variety of Kirmān or the wild Abyssinian variety; or, if certain modern synonyms were also applicable in the 8th century, it may have been the same as *shūnīz*, i.e., *Nigella sativa* of the family *Ranunculaceae* ("black cumin," "fennel-flower," "nutmeg flower," etc.), used today as a condiment and considered in the East to be effective as a stimulant, diaphoretic and emmenagogue (as cumin is today). It is less likely that it was *Plantago exigua* (or *Plantago pumila* L.), also called *kammūn aswad* in modern Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

The cumin plant (κύνινον τὸ ἥμερον), as represented in the magnificent 10th century Constantinople manuscript of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, is illustrated in PLATE IV.<sup>23</sup> Note the Turkish gloss in the upper left, *كون بستان*, "garden" or "cultivated cumin."

17. Vessel stamp, measure of red sesame-seed. The Caliph al-Manṣūr.

امر عبد الله  
عبد الله امير  
المؤمنين بطبعه  
مكيّة الجبلان  
الاحمر واف

"Ordered the Servant of Allāh,  
'Abdullāh, commander of the Believers, the stamping of it, measure of red sesame-seed, full measure."

Green. 41 × 39 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept. 1949).

An identical piece is in Professor Mabbott's collection.

*Juljulān* is defined by the classical Arabic lexicographers as: (a) the fruit of the *kuzburah*, or "coriander"; or (b) "se-

<sup>22</sup> Ahmed Issa, pp. 125, 142; A. K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names* (Cairo, 1936), nos. 2412, 2731; Hedrick, p. 388; *Dispensatory*, p. 1532.

<sup>23</sup> M. 652, fol. 80r. I am indebted to the Trustees of the Morgan Library for permission to reproduce this illustration here.

same" in its husks before it is reaped or the grain of the sesame. Today the word in Egypt is synonymous with *simsim*, the *Sesamum indicum* or *orientale* of the family *Pedaliaceae*, or in English sesame or gingelly.<sup>24</sup> Qualified as *juljulān miṣri* it is the "Egyptian lotus", or as *juljulān al-ḥabashah* it is synonymous with *khashkhash*, the "opium poppy." I believe that *juljulān* on the stamps signifies "sesame-seed," not "coriander." In the first place, there appear to have been measures for the latter, under the name *ḥabb al-kusbur(ah)*;<sup>25</sup> and no stamp bearing the word *simsim* has come to my attention. Furthermore *simsim* strictly speaking is the plant, of which *juljulān* is the fruit or "seed." The Arabic translations of Dioscorides equate *juljulān* with *simsim*, and Ibn al-Bayṭār defines *juljulān* as "sesame," adding that there were two varieties of sesame native to Arabia, white and black. It is interesting to note that we have the "white" variety named on a vessel stamp.<sup>26</sup> The word also occurs without qualification,<sup>27</sup> and also qualified as *muqashshar*, "shelled,"<sup>28</sup> which is revealing because Ibn al-Bayṭār specifically mentions shelled and grilled sesame among the medicinal forms of the seed. Both he and Dioscorides describe numerous pharmaceutical uses, principally as a stomachic; the former also mentions sesame's effectiveness as a hair-tonic and an aphrodisiac; the latter prescribed it for fractures and for inflammations of the ears and

<sup>24</sup> It is also sometimes loosely used in reference to the *Pisum sativum*, or "common pea". Cf. Ahmed Issa, p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> *EAG*, no. 183 (?), and *Fouquet Collection*, p. 369, no. 131 (?). Incidentally *Coriandrum sativum* is used pharmaceutically today in association with purgative medicines to diminish their tendency to cause griping (cf., *inter alia*, Allport, p. 155).

<sup>26</sup> *EAG*, no. 180; also one in the Royal Ontario Museum (see the note after no. 42 below).

<sup>27</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, p. 369, no. 132.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371, no. 144, *muqashshar* misread as "du Maḳs (?)". For *muqashshar* see *EAG*, nos. 23 and 37, and p. 87, footnote 11.

eyes, and he remarks that the ancient Egyptians extracted an oil from the seed. Both sesame seed (fruit) and sesame oil are still to be found in the *Dispensatory*.<sup>29</sup>

What was the “red *juljulān*” specified on the present vessel stamp? There appear to be numerous variations and forms of sesame, differing in respect of seed-color. Most commonly mentioned among the colors are white (or yellowish-white), grey, black and red. Whether in the present instance we are dealing with a distinct form or rather with the reddish color of black seeds in an immature state is uncertain, but in any case the existence of so-called red sesame seeds is an established fact, and it would appear likely that the 8th century Arab druggists recognized different properties in certain forms or races of the plant (or of different stages of development of the seed).<sup>30</sup>

18. Dinar weight. ‘Abd. al-Malik b. Yazīd, Governor and Finance Director, 133–136, 137–141 A.H. = 751–753, 755–758 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 103–106]; Prefect, Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl, *ca.* 132–152 A.H. = 749–769 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 96–97.]

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر عبد ا  
لملك بن يزيد  
بمثقال دينار  
واف

“In the name of Allāh: ordered  
‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd: weight of a  
dinar, full weight.”

<sup>29</sup> Lane, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 438, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 1420; Ahmed Issa, pp. 125, 134, 168; Dioscorides, II, no. 121 (Gunther, p. 132); Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 499 (vol. XXIII<sup>1</sup>, p. 362, no. 1218 (vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 282–284); Watt, S. 1078; Hedrick, pp. 531–532; Muschler, pp. 884–885; Hegi, VI<sup>1</sup> (Munich, no date), p. 176; *Dispensatory*, pp. 1034, 1584.

<sup>30</sup> See the references to Hegi, Muschler, Watt, and the *Dispensatory* in the preceding footnote; also Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 293.

Reverse area: (retrograde)

طبعه  
كيل

“Stamped it, Kayl.”

Reverse margin: (retrograde)

على يدي محمد بن شرحبيل

“At the hands of Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl.”

Pale green. 28 mm. 4.20 gm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

This dinar weight is identical with *BM*, no. 10, on which Lane-Poole was able to read only part of the prefect's name, and with Petrie, no. 145. It is to be noted that the entire reverse legend is retrograde in contrast to *EAG* nos. 62–63 (half-dinar weights with a different prefect), where only the area is retrograde. Cf. *EAG*, pp. 103–104, where a possible explanation of these retrograde legends is offered. I must confess that this explanation is not entirely satisfactory, for in the present instance the retrograde marginal legend can hardly be the result of the use of a negative “punch” or “punches.” The entire mold was “positive” where it should, of course, be “negative” to produce the right legend on the glass. The weight of the piece is only slightly below the legal dinar standard. The University College specimen weighs a little more, 4.22 grams.

19. Fragmentary ring-weight, *raṭl*. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd and Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl.

بسم الله امر  
عبد الملك بن يز  
يد بطبعه رطل  
واف على يدي  
محمد بن شر  
حبيل

“In the name of Allāh: ordered ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd the stamping of it, *raṭl*, full weight; at the hands of Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl.”

Green. Stamp: 40 mm. Piece: length, 74 mm, width, 48 mm., height, 35 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, July, 1948).

This piece is fragmentary, only the top of the ring being preserved, but the stamp is exceptionally clear. So far as I know only two other heavy weights of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd have been published: duplicate *wuqīyah* disk-weights in the Fouquet Collection (p. 385, nos. 4-5).

20-21. Vessel stamps, one-quarter *qist*. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd and Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl.

بسم الله امر  
عبد الملك بن يزيد  
بطبعه ربع قسط  
واف على يدي محمد  
بن شراحيل

“In the name of Allāh: ordered  
‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd the striking  
of it, one-quarter *qist*, full measure;  
at the hands of Muḥammad b.  
Shuraḥbīl.”

Two specimens. Green. 42 × 39 mm. 42 × 34 mm.  
ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

Cf. *EAG* no. 67, a vessel stamp for a quarter *qist* of some unknown substance.

22. Vessel stamp, one-quarter *qist*. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, Prefect, *ca.* 141-152 A.H. = *ca.* 759-769 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 109, III, 114-115.]

بسم الله  
على يدي  
عبد الرحمن [ن]  
بن يزيد ربيع  
قسط واف

“In the name of Allāh: at the hands  
of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, one-  
quarter *qist*, full measure.”

Green. 37 × 33 mm.  
ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The vessel which carried this stamp must have been accompanied by another with the name of the Finance Director, Nawfal b. Furāt, or the Governor, Yazīd b. Ḥātim (cf. *EAG*, p. 111). Most of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s known inscriptions are on the reverse margins of coin weights, but there is one free-

standing stamp of the style of the present one on a *ratl* ring-weight.<sup>31</sup>

23. Vessel stamp, measure of white cumin. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, Governor, 141-143 A.H. = 759-760 A.D.; Prefect, 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid. [*EAG*, pp. 111-113.]

بسم الله  
امر الامير محمد  
بن الاشعث بطبعه  
مكيّة كمن الا  
بيض على يدى عبد  
الله بن راشد

"In the name of Allāh: ordered the Amīr Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath the stamping of it, measure of white cumin; at the hands of 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid."

Green. 52 × 39 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

Like no. 16 this piece reveals the technique of rim-making, the same hollow space being evident at both ends of the rim-fracture. "White cumin" has been discussed above, pp. 15-17.

24. Vessel stamp, measure of chick-peas. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid.

[بسم الله]  
[امر الامير محمد]  
[بن الاشعث بطبعه]  
[مكيّة لة حمص]  
.....  
عبد  
الله بن راشد

"In the name of Allāh: commanded the Amīr Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath the stamping of it, measure of chick-peas; [at the hands of] 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid." (Largely reconstructed).

Green. 39 × 36 mm. Length of rim fragment, 48 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

An unusually long fragment of the rim of the vessel (rolled over as on nos. 16 and 23) remains attached to the stamp, and it would appear that the outside diameter of the mouth

<sup>31</sup> *EAG*, no. 81; cf. *Fouquet Collection*, p. 391, no. 48 (?).



of the vessel measured about 6.5 to 7 centimeters. The vessel would therefore have been about the same size as *EAG*, no. 37, the reconstructed diameter of which is discussed in *EAG*, p. 18.

*Ḥimmaṣ* (or *ḥimmiṣ*) is *Cicer arietinum* of the family *Leguminosae*, or the "chick-pea," extensively cultivated in Upper Egypt today. Ibn al-Bayṭār devotes a long passage to the medicinal properties of the chick-pea, stressing its supposed virtues in the treatment of lung ailments and as an aphrodisiac. The Arabic lexicographers, following Dioscorides, rate it also as a flatulent, lenitive and diuretic. It is not recognized as a pharmaceutical in modern times. There are vessel stamps for *ḥimmaṣ muqashshar*, "shelled chick-peas,"<sup>32</sup> but I have seen none qualified by color, although Pliny distinguished between "black" and "white" forms, and the Arabs also speak of the "red" seed.<sup>33</sup>

25. Vessel stamp, measure of fennel. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid.

بسم الله امر  
الامير محمد  
بن الاشعث بطبعه  
مكيّة الشمار على  
يدى عبد الله  
بن راشد

"In the name of Allāh: ordered the  
Amīr Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath the  
stamping of it, measure of fennel;  
at the hands of 'Abdullāh b. Rāshid.

Green. 39 mm.

Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (948.226.26).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, p. 365, no. 75 (misread); also with a doubtful qualification, *ibid.*, no. 76.

<sup>33</sup> Lane, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 643–644; Ahmed Issa, p. 48; Dioscorides, II, no. 126 (Gunter, p. 136); Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 696 (vol. XXIII<sup>1</sup>, pp. 451–453); cf. Eilhard Wiedemann, "Über den Abschnitt über die Pflanzen bei Nuwairi", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, LI (*Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen*, vol. 48–49 (1916–1917), p. 162; Hedrick, pp. 165–166; Muschler, I, p. 538.

<sup>34</sup> Like no. 7, from the Brummer Collection, presumably from Fustāt.

The vessel which bore this stamp contained *shamār*, which is defined by the lexicographers as either *Foeniculum vulgare* (*Anethum foeniculum*) of the family *Umbelliferae*, that is "fennel," or as *Anethum graveolens*, or the common "garden-dill" (the "anise" of Scripture). Ibn al-Bayṭār, who discusses fennel under the heading *rāziyānāj*, the Persian equivalent, and who gives *shamār* as the name in Syria and Egypt, ascribed to it a large number of pharmaceutical properties: it "penetrates deeply into the organs," it clears "obstructions" in the liver and the spleen, it is an expectorant, a stomachic, a diuretic, it is used in the treatment of chronic fever, etc., etc. Dioscorides also lists *anethon*, i.e., *Anethum graveolens* as a drug and stresses its gynaecological uses.

It is difficult to say whether fennel or dill is intended here, but in view of Ibn al-Bayṭār's discussion and of the fact that at least one authority gives the modern Egyptian equivalent of dill as *karāwīyā*, preference is perhaps to be given to the meaning "fennel." At all events, fennel and dill are much alike in appearance (dill being a smaller plant), and they have quite similar properties. Both are still recognized pharmaceuticals. To quote the *Dispensatory*, fennel is one of our most "grateful" aromatics, employed as a carminative and as a corrigent of other less pleasant medicines, particularly senna and rhubarb. Both are used in the treatment of flatulent colic; fennel is a constituent of the well-known compound Liquorice Powder; dill-water in England and fennel-tea or fennel-water in America are commonly prescribed as vehicles for childrens' medicines generally. The seeds are administered in powder form or as an infusion.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Lane, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 1596; Ahmed Issa, p. 84; Dioscorides, III, no. 67 (Gunther, p. 301); Ibn al-Bayṭār, nos. 1019, 1341 (vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 164-166, 344); *Dispensatory*, pp. 381, 463-465; *Pharmacopoeia* (12th revision), p. 321 (oil of fennel); cf. Allport, pp. 162, 164; Grieve, I, pp. 255-257, 293-297; Muschler, II, pp. 704-705, 707; Lloyd, p. 140.

This is, so far as I know, the first known occurrence of *shamār* on a vessel stamp.

In Professor Mabbott's collection there is a *qist* vessel stamp similar to *EAG*, no. 75, but possibly differing from it slightly in the arrangement of the second and third lines. Professor Mabbott also has a dinar weight issued by Yazīd b. Ḥātim which is apparently similar to *EAG*, nos. 77-8, except that the name (unfortunately illegible) in the center of the reverse appears to be different, and the reverse marginal legend is incomplete.

26. One-third dinar weight. The Caliph al-Mahdi, 158-169 A.H. = 775-785 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 119-123]; Prefect (or Finance Director?), Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm? [*EAG*, pp. 129-130.]

Obverse:

بسم الله  
امر المهدى ا  
مير المؤمنين  
مقالك  
واف

"In the name of Allāh: commanded al-Mahdi, Commander of the Believers, weight of a third [dinar], full weight."

Reverse margin:

[?] اسمعيل . . . . .

". . . . . Ismā'īl (?)."

Reverse area:

بن ابر  
هيم

"b. Ibrāhīm."

Green. 19 mm. 1.40 grm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The reverse is poorly centered, with the result that half of the marginal legend is off the piece, and the rest is obscure,

so I am by no means certain that I have read the name "Ismā'il" correctly. I know of no glass weight of al-Mahdi's with the unequivocal name of this official, but there are one or two pieces which tend to confirm my reading. Dorn published a glass weight,<sup>36</sup> misread in several particulars and described as bearing the name ('*alā yaday*) of al-amīr al-'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm, the last two words being in the area, as here. This piece may quite possibly be identical with the present. Furthermore there is a one-half dinar weight of al-Madhi's in the University College collection,<sup>37</sup> with a reverse apparently the same as the present one, the margin reading . . . بسم الله على يدى الامير. Petrie misread بن المهاجر in the area. For some reason he supplied "Ism'ayl" as the missing name in the margin.<sup>38</sup> Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm was Finance Director in 164 A.H.,<sup>39</sup> and it may be that he was a prefect at some earlier date during al-Mahdi's rule. The weight of the piece (1.40 grm.) is only three-hundredths of a gram below the average of the eleven one-third dinar weights mentioned in *EAG*, pp. 5-6.

27. Vessel stamp, *qist*. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, Governor, 159-161 A.H. = 775-778 A.D. [*EAG*, pp. 125-127.]

بسم الله ا  
مر الامير  
محمد بن سليمان  
اكرمه الله  
قسط واف

"In the name of Allāh: order of the Amīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, may Allāh be generous to him, *qist*, full measure."

Olive green. 40 mm.

Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (948.226.24).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Bernh. Dorn, *Ch. M. Fraehni Nova Supplementa ad recensioem numorum muhammedanorum* (Petropoli, 1855), p. 84.

<sup>37</sup> Petrie, no. 198.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> Like nos. 7 and 25, from the Brummer Collection, presumably from Fustāt.

28. Vessel stamp, one quarter *qist*. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.

[.] اسم الله  
[ا]مر الامير  
[م]حمد بن سليم[ن]  
[ر]بع قسط  
[و]اف

“In the name of Allāh: order of the Amīr Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, one-quarter *qist*, full measure.”

Green. 34 × 31 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

These are the first two vessel stamps with the name of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān to be published.

29. Dinar weight. Mālik b. Dalham, Governor, 192–193 A.H. = 808 A.D. [*EAG*, p. 132.]

Similar to *EAG*, no. 106, but the letter *hā'* omitted after ابا, and no reverse legends. The Fouquet Collection specimen referred to in *EAG*, p. 132, is identical with the present piece.

Almost opaque magenta. 29 mm. 4.24 grm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The weight is well up to the earlier standard, being only one hundredth of a gram beneath the legal 4.25 grams.

30. Vessel stamp (uncertain substance). Mūsā b. abī'l-‘Abbās, Governor, 219–224 A.H. = 834–839 A.D.

... ناس ابا [م الله ؟]  
على يدى موسى  
[بن] ابى العباس[س]

“...[Ashinās?], may Allāh preserve him (?); at the hands of Mūsā b. abī-al-‘Abbās.”

Green. 27 × 24 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

Mūsā b. abī'l-‘Abbās was governor of Egypt under the Turkish viceroy, Abū-Ja‘far Ashinās,<sup>41</sup> from 1 Ramaḍān, 219, until Rabī‘ II, 224 (9 Sept., 934–Feb./March, 839 A.D.).<sup>42</sup> The use of the phrase *‘alā yaday* in this instance implies not that Mūsā was perfect (which would be the case in the usual

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *EAG*, p. 135.

<sup>42</sup> Wüstenfeld, II, p. 45.

circumstances) but that, although governor, he was subsidiary to Ashinās in authority. The imperfectly preserved first line appears to bear the name of Ashinās himself, followed by a familiar benedictory phrase. The lack of room for a title on this line suggests that the stamp was much too small for the die and that the top line is missing altogether.

Casanova published a heavy weight,<sup>43</sup> bearing the name of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, with Mūsā b. abī l-'Abbās as governor. In the same collection<sup>44</sup> there is a vessel stamp with 'alā yaday Mūsā b. abī. . . . ., which may be his, and Petrie<sup>45</sup> illustrates a stamp with a like inscription and the name of the father transcribed simply "al-'Abbās," but I imagine that the word "abī" was on the die but off the piece, which like the present one is of insufficient width to take the full impression.

31. Fragmentary ring-weight. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil,  
232-247 A.H. = 847-861 A.D.

.....	
.....	
ك امر به عبد الله	"..... ordered the Servant of
[جعفر الامام] المتوكل	Allāh, Ja'far al-Imām al-Mutawak-
.....	kil....."
.....	

Green. Approx. di. of stamp, 42 mm. Piece:  
length, 78 mm., width, 50 mm., height, 44 mm.  
ANS (Nies Estate).

This very imperfectly preserved fragment of what must have been an exceptionally large ring-weight is *EAG*, no. 167, listed there as a heavy weight with name effaced (group IV). There were two stamps on the surface, probably identical, but one is completely effaced and the other so nearly so that I abandoned the attempt to decipher it when *EAG* was written. Only the publication of a similar weight in M. Marcel

<sup>43</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, p. 391, no. 45.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 373, no. 172.

<sup>45</sup> No. 236.

Jungfleisch's "Un poids et une estampille sur verre datant d'Ahmed ibn Touloun"<sup>46</sup> has enabled me to identify the piece, which, in all probability is identical with this.

Two other fragmentary ring-weights, *EAG*, nos. 169 and 170, likewise listed in the category of heavy weights with effaced inscriptions, are also undoubtedly issues of the 3rd century of the Hijrah. No. 169 has two rectangular stamps on the top surface, each with six lines of inscription, and no. 170 one rectangular stamp with apparently a four-line legend. I suspect that the latter may possibly be a piece of Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh like Petrie, nos. 238-9 (see below under no. 32). The blurred epigraphy of both has a 3rd century appearance, and the formulas would seem to resemble somewhat those appearing on the pieces of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil published by Jungfleisch, and the University College weights just mentioned. The inscriptions are so blurred, however, that single words cannot be made out. Aside from the major contribution of Jungfleisch's article referred to — the first publication of a Ṭulūnid vessel stamp and weight — the description of these 3rd century 'Abbāsīd glass pieces is important in that it will facilitate the identification of similar and related pieces, attempts to decipher which have heretofore been abandoned as hopeless.

32. Disk-weight, *wuqīyah*. Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh, Governor, 242-253 A.H. = 856-867 A.D.

بسم الله  
امر به الامير يزيد بن  
عبد الله مولى امير  
[المؤمنين]

"In the name of Allāh: of what ordered the Amīr Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh, Freedman of the Commander of the Believers."

Green. Piece: 45 mm. Stamp: 22 mm.  
Depth of impression: 5 mm. 31.50 grm.  
ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

<sup>46</sup> *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXX, 1947-8, p. 3 of the reprint, fig. 3.

While the inscription is somewhat blurred, and there are a few minor chips and some pitting, the piece is otherwise intact and is therefore an important contribution to our knowledge of the "heavier" glass weights. While no denomination is stated in the legend, there can be no doubt that this is a *wuqīyah* (ounce) weight, its present, very slightly diminished, weight tallying well with those other intact *wuqīyahs* tabulated in *EAG*, pp. 17-18.<sup>47</sup> Evidence is accumulating that the Egyptian *wuqīyah* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Hijrah approached 32 grams.<sup>48</sup>

The *mawlā* Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. Dīnār was governor of Egypt from 20 Rajab, 242, to 13 Rabī' I, 253 A.H. (22 Nov., 856, to 23 March, 867 A.D.). Although he was appointed only *'alā al-ṣalāt*, "to lead the prayers," *i.e.*, not specifically with authority over the finances,<sup>49</sup> the presence of his name alone on weights suggests that he was in fact in control of the finances, at least until 247 A.H. when we learn of the appointment of Sulaymān b. Wahb as Finance Director. An interesting monument of Yazīd's days as governor is the inscription on the entrance of the Nilometer on the Island of Rawḍah, dated 247 A.H. (861 A.D.).<sup>50</sup> His name is not present but he doubtless supervised the construction of the building.

Four other glass pieces of Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh have been published. One is a disk-weight<sup>51</sup> apparently bearing the

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the discussion of the Byzantine οὐγγία and the Umayyad *wuqīyah* in my little article, "A Byzantine weight validated by al-Walid" (*ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 87 (New York, 1939), pp. 6-9.

<sup>48</sup> The weight of a glass disk-weight, probably of the Caliph Yazīd II, in the Damascus Museum (Djafar Abdel-Kader, *op. cit.*, no. 3) is puzzling: 76.23 grams is too heavy for a double *wuqīyah* of this standard.

<sup>49</sup> Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, I, pp. 740, 746; cf. Grohmann, *Corpus*, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 157; Grohmann, *Egyptian Library*, II, p. 40; Wüstenfeld, II, pp. 55-8.

<sup>50</sup> Combe, Sauvaget, Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, II (Cairo, 1932), nos. 460-461; cf. Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, I, p. 741.

<sup>51</sup> *Fouquet Collection*, p. 392, no. 56.



name of al-Muntaṣir as heir-apparent, as well as that of the governor. The three others are ring-weights,<sup>52</sup> one of them with an effaced date (?), and the other two identical pieces with the date (?) struck out on the die, each of the latter bearing duplicate impressions.

The following three pieces belong to the category of "unidentified officials."

33. Vessel stamp. Abān b. Ibrāhīm. [*EAG*, p. 136.]

Similar to *EAG*, no. IIII.

Olive green. 33 × 29 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

34. Vessel stamp. Al-Ḥasan (an artisan?).

طبعه  
[أ] الحسن

"Stamped it, al-Ḥasan."

Green. 30 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

35. Coin weight, *fals* of 33 *kharrūbah*. ʿUmar. [*EAG*, p. 141.]

••  
عمر  
~  
••

"ʿUmar: 33."

Green. 32 mm. 6.37 grm

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The Coptic figures on coin weights are briefly discussed in *EAG*, p. 11. It was there stated that the symbol ~ appeared to be the Coptic figure for 30, derived from the Greek λ. There can be no doubt of this. Furthermore it is certain that ~ stands for 33, for the symbol at the right is identical with one of the forms of the Coptic-Arabic manuscript figure for 3. Also, ~, to signify 36, a deduction

<sup>52</sup> Petrie, nos. 237-239.

based on weight (*EAG*, p. 11), is likewise confirmed, for the symbol at the right in this case is quite similar to one of the Coptic forms for 6.<sup>53</sup> The present piece, together with the identical one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, mentioned in *EAG*, p. 11, footnote 29, and Petrie, no. 192 (which he described as "two (dirhems)", lend metrological support to the identification of the denomination as "33." While the Boston piece appears to be underweight (6.08 grams), this one is close to the average for four weighed pieces (6.385 grams), as set forth in the table in *EAG*, p. 10. The one illustrated by Petrie is a little heavier, 6.40 grams.

36. One-third dinar weight. Name of official effaced.

Obverse:

بسم الله  
مثقال [sic] ثلث  
دينر  
واف  
✱

"In the name of Allāh: weight of  
one-third dinar, full weight."

Reverse: faint traces.

Green. 20 mm. 1.42 gm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The legend of the reverse is not worn or damaged; the molten glass simply did not take the impression in the mold. To a greater or lesser degree this is true of all glass weight reverses, as they were apparently not subjected to the same vigorous pressure as that exerted by the die on the obverse. In all probability there are no truly anonymous dinar or dinar-fraction weights, those that are catalogued in this category (such as *EAG*, no. 131, and others in other publications) being pieces like this one with almost imperceptible

<sup>53</sup> Ludwig Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880), table at p. 470. See also in receipts for tax payments in Margoliouth, *Arabic Papyri*, pp. 20ff.

traces of reverse legends. The weight of this one-third dinar is exactly what it should be.

37. Coin weight, *fals* of 27 *kharrūbah*. Anonymous.

هذا مثقال  
ل فلس سبع  
وعشرين  
خرو  
بة \*

“This is the weight of a *fals* of twenty-seven *kharrūbah*.”

Green. 30 mm. 5.25 gm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

There are two identical pieces, not so well preserved, in the Fouquet Collection.<sup>54</sup> The weight agrees well with the average of the three pieces with recorded weights (5.253 grams),<sup>55</sup> and is exactly the same as the two 27-*kharrūbah* weights of Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath published in *EAG*, nos. 73-74.

38. Coin weight, *fals* of 25 *kharrūbah*. Anonymous. [*EAG*, p. 147.] Similar to *EAG*, nos. 134-137.

Green. 31 mm. 5.14 gm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The weight is close to the 5.16 and 5.15 grams of the two intact similar pieces described in *EAG*, and is, like the latter, somewhat higher than the 5.048 gram average arrived at in the table, *EAG*, p. 10.

39. Coin weight, *fals* of 25 *kharrūbah*. Anonymous.

هذا مثقال  
ل فلس خمس  
وعشرين  
خرو  
[بة]

“This is the weight of a *fals* of twenty-five *kharrūbah*.”

Green. 30 mm. Broken in three pieces and fragment lacking.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

<sup>54</sup> P. 378, nos. 14 and 14bis.

<sup>55</sup> *EAG*, p. 10.

The *lām* of *mithqāl* is reversed.

40. Coin weight, *fals* of 20 *qīrāt*. Anonymous.

بسم الله  
مثقال فلس  
واف وزن  
عشرين قير  
ط

“In the name of Allāh: weight of a *fals*, full weight; weight of twenty *qīrāt*.”

Green. 25 mm. 3.96 grm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The weight is very close to the average of 20-*kharrūbah* or 20-*qīrāt* pieces, *i.e.*, 3.943 grams (*EAG*, p. 10).

41. Vessel stamp, measure of sugar. Anonymous.<sup>56</sup>

مكيه  
السكر

“Measure of sugar.”

Green. Di. of stamp: 25 mm. Length of rim: 48 mm.

ANS (gift of L. H. Schroeder, Sept., 1949).

The reconstructed internal diameter of the mouth of the vessel to which this stamp was attached is approximately 60 mm.

The last letter of the second line of the stamp is almost obliterated, being very close to the edge of the stamp, but it has a downward trend and there can be little doubt that the letter is *rāʾ* and the word السكر. In the Fouquet Collection,<sup>57</sup> there is a similar vessel stamp on which the final letter, at least in the reproduction, is not apparent, but I believe the piece is the same as this. Casanova, not observing the final letter, transcribed the word السكر (?), and translated it “les pastilles aromatiques (?)”. If السكر is the correct reading —

<sup>56</sup> A condensed version of the following section on sugar was read at a meeting of the American Oriental Society in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 4, 1950.

<sup>57</sup> P. 366, no. 91, pl. II.

which it almost certainly is — then we are confronted with the possibility of two vocalizations: the word can be read *sakar* or *sukkar*. The former is a word of Semitic origin, meaning “wine” or a “beverage made from dried dates.” While this is perhaps a possible interpretation, it would appear to me, especially in view of the nature of most of the other substances named on the vessel stamps, that the vocalization here is *sukkar*, i.e., “sugar”; in which case we have in this piece a little archaeological relic of quite exceptional interest, for unless I am mistaken the inscription is the earliest tangible documentation of the existence of the word, and therefore likewise of the substance, in 8th century Egypt. While the vessel stamp is unfortunately not dated, nor, because of the lack of an accompanying official’s name, precisely datable, nonetheless an 8th century attribution is entirely reasonable by virtue of analogy with other datable vessel stamps, and is supportable on epigraphical grounds. This identification calls for an excursus of some length.

Arabic *sukkar* derives from Persian *shakar* or *shakkar*, which in turn is a loan-word from Sanskrit *śarkarā* through Prakrit *sakkara* (Pali *sakkharā*); and in the reverse etymological direction the Arabic word (not the Greek *σάκχαρ*, *σάκχαρον*, and late Latin *saccharum*, which likewise derived from the Persian intermediary) is the origin of all the European names for the substance, including of course our own English “sugar.” The earliest history of the cultivation of the sugar cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is understandably obscure in the extreme and need not concern us here. It is generally agreed, however, that Bengal, or thereabouts in south-east Asia, was the original habitat of the sugar cane, and that at a very early date, possibly as early as the 7th century B.C., the plant was introduced from that area into China, and at a later undetermined date into Persia. Herodotus was ignorant of sugar cane. Whether later classical

writers such as Pliny and Dioscorides, who were familiar with the word, knew of the true nature of Indian sugar has been a matter of much dispute. The concensus is that they were not acquainted with sugar in our sense, and that when, for example, Dioscorides spoke in the following terms of *sakcharon*, the substance described was not cane sugar but a kind of "honey:"

"*Sakcharon*, a kind of concreted honey, found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix, like salt in consistence and crunched by the teeth as salt is. Dissolved in water and drunk, it is good for the belly and stomach and for diseases of the bladder and the kidneys. As an ointment it cleanses those things which darken the pupils."

To be sure this is not by any means an accurate or an unmistakable description of sugar derived from sugar cane, but I am inclined to agree with Sir Henry Yule that the scepticism of Salmasius (1588-1635 A.D.), and of later commentators down to the present day, with respect to the identification of the *sakcharon* of the ancients with cane sugar, is unjustified. It is obvious that Dioscorides, Pliny, Galen, Isidorus and others had only a vague idea of the nature of sugar cane, and that they frequently confused sugar from this source with a siliceous concretion from the joints or roots of bamboo, later known as "tabasheer" (from Arabic and Persian *tabāshīr*, of Sanskrit origin), which incidentally neither contains sugar, nor is sweet; but it is equally clear that by the turn of the millennium the classical world knew of the existence of sugar from India, and while uncertain as to its exact nature had adopted the word, which ever since has been applied primarily to cane sugar and by extension of meaning to similar substances derived from other sources. As von Lippmann remarks in his monumental *Geschichte des Zuckers*, "hard" sugar as we know it could not

have been familiar to the Greek and Roman writers of the first centuries after Christ, for it was not produced in refined form even in India until after their time, but this is not to say that *sakcharon* was simply *mel arundineum*, *mel concretum*, *sal indus*, etc.<sup>58</sup>

As remarked above, the exact date of the introduction of the sugar cane from the Ganges region into Persia is not known. If the Armenian Moses of Chorene lived, as he claimed he did, in the 5th century, then the earliest known mention of cane sugar in Persia is to be found in his *Geography*, in a passage in which he speaks of Jundi-Shāpūr (Jundāy-Sābūr) in Khūzistān, where (in the Latin translation) *pretiosum Saccharum conficiunt*. Unfortunately Moses' *History*, and to a lesser extent his *Geography*, contain so many anachronisms that the traditional date of the composition of his works, and in fact his entire authenticity, have been vigorously questioned by many scholars. The predominant school of criticism now would place him in the 8th century, and there are some even who incline to the 9th. However, the latest summary of the controversy, which is immensely complicated, leaves the question of Moses' date open, and since an independent view is by no means within my competence, the period to which this early mention of sugar cane had reference must remain uncertain. This much may be said: Moses' characterization of sugar in Khūzistān as "precious" certainly implies a date much earlier than the 9th century, and it would not, I believe, be out of line with the attitude of some of Moses' severest critics to assume that this passage derives from an earlier, certainly not a 5th century

<sup>58</sup> Lane, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 1391, I<sup>7</sup>, p. 2529; Geiger u. Kuhn, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 7, 53, 54, 55, J. Ruska, s. v. *sukkar*, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*; Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1903), pp. 862–864, 887; Dioscorides, II, no. 104 (Gunther, p. 125, ed. C. Sprengel, I, p. 231); Edmund O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1929), pp. 76ff., 115–144, 153–157.

but possibly a 6th or 7th century, source—whatever the true date of the author's literary activity.<sup>59</sup>

It appears quite certain that sugar cane was not being cultivated to any important extent in Persia (or 'Irāq) during the reign of the Sassanian king Khosrau I, 531–579 A.D., for the commodity is not listed among the principal taxable soil-products of that time.<sup>60</sup> However, very shortly after this reign we meet with an interesting bit of evidence bearing on our question. That cane sugar was a rare and precious commodity in early 7th century Persia is a justifiable inference to be drawn from a passage in the chronicle of Theophanes (d.818 A.D.), in which are listed the treasures found by Heraclius in 628 A.D. in the palace of Khosrau II at Dastajird (Daskara). Among the rarities in the treasury were aloes, pepper, cotton clothing, silk goods, tapestries, bars of gold and silver, and sugar (ζάχαρ). This statement is not difficult to reconcile with the evidence of the Sui Annals, relating to the period 581–618 A.D. and written immediately thereafter, for we learn that *ši-mi* (which my friend Yü-ch'üan Wang assures me unmistakably refers to cane sugar) is attributed to Sassanian Persia. The implication would be that sugar cane was well enough established in Persia to be known to the Chinese in, let us say, the early 7th century. The Byzantine source implies that sugar was a precious luxury in the same category with rare spices and goods from

<sup>59</sup> *Mosis Chorenensis Geographia*, in *Mosis Chorenensis Historiae Armeniacae Libri III*, ed. Gulielmus & Georgius, Gul. Whistoni Filii (London, 1736), p. 364; cf. Alfred von Gutschmid and F. C. Conybeare, in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XVIII, pp. 897–898; George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I (Washington, 1927), pp. 395–396; A. O. Sarkissian, "On the Authenticity of Moses of Khoren's *History*", in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LX (1940), pp. 73–81, with complete bibliography of the criticism of Moses of Chorene; cf. von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 158–61, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 376–377 (neither of the latter recognizing the dispute over Moses' date).

<sup>60</sup> Tabari, I, p. 960; cf. von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, p. 177.



India in precisely that same period. Unfortunately Theophanes does not specify whether Khosrau's sugar was imported (as obviously some of the commodities mentioned in the same passage were) or domestic, but I believe we may conclude, especially in the light of the Chinese evidence, and with some reserved support from Moses of Chorene, that sugar cane was being cultivated as a luxury product, at least, in Khūzistān by the end of the 6th century or very early in the 7th.<sup>61</sup>

The validity of this conclusion is corroborated by more positive evidence as we enter upon the firm ground of the Arab conquest. Balādhuri (d. 892 A.D.) tells us that the Caliph 'Umar (13–23 A.H. = 634–644 A.D.) ordered a survey and revision of Khosrau's tax rates (*kharāj*) on cultivated land in the Sawād (*i.e.*, 'Irāq); and, according to one of Balādhuri's sources, among the crops was *qaṣab*, upon which the tariff was six dirhems per *jarīb*, a measure of volume and likewise of area based upon volume of yield.<sup>62</sup> To be sure, the word *sukkar* is not used, but *qaṣab* means "cane," and the common designation of "sugar cane" is *qaṣab sukkar*.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore a later writer, Māwardi (d. 1058 A.D.), the famous political theorist, who drew upon Balādhuri and other early writers, repeats this information and uses the

<sup>61</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae)*, I (Bonn, 1839), p. 494, cf. *Georgius Cedrenus*, I (Bonn, 1838), p. 732; Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, *loc. cit.*; cf. Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1936), p. 463; von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, p. 157; Ruska, *loc. cit.* The latter two authorities (and others) seem to assume that Theophanes specifically considered the sugar in the royal residence at Dastajird to be exotic and Indian, but I cannot agree that this is implicit in the passage; it is, to my mind, an unwarranted inference.

<sup>62</sup> Balādhuri, p. 269; cf. Max van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes* (Geneva, 1886), p. 50; Alfred von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen* I, (Vienna, 1875), p. 63; von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, p. 178.

<sup>63</sup> Lane, I<sup>7</sup>, p. 2529.

more precise term, *qaṣab sukkar*.<sup>64</sup> Not all authorities agree exactly on the tax rate on fields sown in other crops (palm, timber, vines, clover, sesame, wheat, barley, etc.), but with respect to sugar cane, both Balādhuri and Māwardi specify six dirhems, which is about the middle of the scale, less than vines and palms (of certain categories) and more than wheat, barley and clover. The crop, therefore was not, by this evidence, a great rarity in 'Irāq in the first half of the 7th century; in fact, to be included at all in a list of the commonest taxable crops would suggest that in that part of the east, at least, it was already well domesticated.

There are a few supporting passages in nearly contemporary Arabic literature that deserve mention in passing. The poet 'Umar b. abī-Rabī'ah, who died at an advanced age in either 93 or 101 A.H. = 711-12 or 719-20 A.D. mentions *ṭabarzād*, which, while not necessarily refined sugar, and certainly not sugar-candy, as some have interpreted the Persian term to mean, does definitely indicate a familiarity with cane sugar.<sup>65</sup> Another Umayyad poet, Jarīr b. 'Aṭīyah, whose death, also at an advanced age, is placed in 110 or 114 A.H. (between 728 and 732 A.D.), in a poem dedicated to the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, compares his own meager lot with that of another who possessed "sugar [*sukkar*] and raisins."<sup>66</sup> Both of these passages suggest that

<sup>64</sup> *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah* (ed. Max. Enger, Bonn, 1853), p. 257; cf. van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Incidentally P. K. Hitti, in his translation of Balādhuri (p. 427), renders *qaṣab* as "sugar-cane" without question.

<sup>65</sup> P. Schwarz, "Die Zuckerpressen von Ahwāz," *Der Islam*, VI (1916), pp. 269-79; cf. Eilhard Wiedemann, "Über den Zucker bei den Muslimen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, LII *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen*, vol. 48-49 (1916-1917), pp. 179-80; Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1449 (*ṭabarzād*), vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, p. 402; von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 169f.

<sup>66</sup> *Dīwān* (Cairo, 1313 A. H.), I, p. 19; cf. Wiedemann, "Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz über den Zucker," *Beiträge*, LV (*loc. cit.*, p. 324); von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 180-181. For Jarīr, see A. Schaade, *s. v.*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.

sugar was a luxury. Other early references that have been cited are less reliable, and the rare occurrences in the *ḥadīth* are not to be trusted.<sup>67</sup> Many later writers mention sugar in their accounts of the Umayyad period. For example, Mas'ūdi (d. 956 A.D.) includes *sukkar* among the delicacies on the table of the Caliph Mu'āwiyah.<sup>68</sup> But such passages are not contemporary. The still later Arab lexicographers considered the word *sukkar* to be "recent,"<sup>69</sup> but certainly they mean "recent," not from their point of view but from that of the classical medical and botanical writers, that is, Dioscorides, Galen, etc.

It is not necessary here to follow the development of the sugar industry in 'Irāq and Khūzistān during the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphates. This rapid progress has been described in detail by von Lippmann.<sup>70</sup> Having reviewed the essential facts relative to the appearance of sugar cane in the Near East, our immediate concern is now with the introduction of the plant into Egypt and the earliest contemporary mention of that commodity there. In spite of earlier contentions to the contrary, it is now generally agreed that sugar cane was *not* known to the Egyptians prior to the Arab conquest, and it is plausibly argued that it was introduced into

<sup>67</sup> E.g., al-Ḥuṭai'ah (cf. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* [*Beiträge*, LV], p. 324, and von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, p. 181); and among the *Traditions*, one cited in the *Tāj al-'Arūs*, s. v. *sukkar* (cf. Lane, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 1391), to the effect that the water in the basin of the Prophet was sweeter than sugar, and another describing the water of Kawthar, which by many was believed to be one of the rivers of paradise, in terms of the sweetness of sugar or honey (Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* [*Beiträge*, LV], p. 327).

<sup>68</sup> *Murūj al-dhahab* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), V, p. 76.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Lane, I<sup>4</sup>, p. 1391.

<sup>70</sup> *Geschichte*, pp. 173ff. Cf. Alfred von Kremer, *op.cit.*, II (Vienna, 1877), p. 283. Von Lippmann has assembled an impressive mass of material drawn from almost every conceivable source, but his lack of firsthand acquaintance with the Arabic authorities has quite naturally led to errors in fact and interpretation. In a work of such immense comprehensiveness it is not surprising that the use of source material is not always critical.

the Nile Valley by the land route from Khūzistān via Syria almost immediately after the Arab entry into Persia and Egypt, that is after 642 A.D. By all accounts the plant took hold very rapidly in this relatively ideal climate and terrain. By Tūlūnid times (that is, the late 9th century) the production was great and the quality was the best in the world, with the result that Egypt became known throughout the Islamic world, both East and West, and beyond in Europe and China, as the home *par excellence* of the finest refined sugar. From Egypt the plant was soon introduced into Spain and was cultivated there under the Umayyads. In Marco Polo's day refining experts from Cairo were at the court of the Great Khan in China. The perfection of the refining process was immeasurably aided by the knowledge which the Egyptians had of chemical processes, a logical development of an age-old interest in alchemy and the resultant native skill in the use of clarifying agents. There is a wealth of literary material bearing on the industry in Egypt in the later Middle Ages, most of which has been assiduously assembled by von Lippmann. Among others Nuwairi (d. 1332 A.D.) devoted a monograph to the subject of sugar cultivation and production in Egypt, and the geographers specify the places where *qaṣab sukkar* was notably cultivated. All these later aspects of the history of Egyptian sugar have been adequately dealt with.<sup>71</sup> Our particular aim here is to establish a more specific date for the first actual mention of *sukkar* in the Egyptian scene.

For the early 9th century there is a precious document in the form of a papyrus land-register relating to the sugar

<sup>71</sup> Von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 216ff.; Wiedemann, "Zur Geschichte des Zuckers," *Beiträge*, XLI (loc. cit., vol. 47, 1915, pp. 83-92), containing a translation of Nuwairi's account and also of Ibn al-ʿAwwām on the cultivation of sugar in Spain; *idem*, *Beiträge*, LII (loc. cit.), pp. 177-80, quoting Iṣṭakhri, Maqdisi, Yāqūt, etc.; Marco Polo (ed. Yule and Cordier, London, 1926), p. 226.

cane (*qaṣab sukkar*) plantation and vegetable gardens of a certain Riyāḥ b. Salīm.<sup>72</sup> The papyrus apparently is not dated, but it is attributed to the period of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198–218 A.H. = 813–833 A.D.). Another papyrus, dated 246 A.H. = 860/1 A.D., mentioning sugar cane and indigo as exceptions in a list of land products in which certain payments might be made, has been published by Adolf Grohmann.<sup>73</sup> Still another 3rd/9th century Fayyūm papyrus concerns quantities of sugar calculated according to different measures of capacity.<sup>74</sup>

The existence of these papyri lends support to the authenticity of a tradition reported by Suyūṭi (d. 1505 A.D.) that the famous juriconsulist al-Shāfi'ī once said, speaking of the medicinal products for which Egypt was famous *ولو لا قصب السكر ما أقت بمصر*, “and had it not been for the sugar cane, I would not have remained in Egypt.”<sup>75</sup> Al-Shāfi'ī died in 204 A.H. = 820 A.D., and if we can trust Suyūṭi to have quoted him correctly then we may say that we have reliable evidence of the presence of sugar cane in Egypt at the end of the 2nd century of the Hijrah. In fact, on the basis of the testimony of such later mediaeval Arabic writers, we can

<sup>72</sup> J. Karabacek, *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1894), no. 705, p. 183 (Inv. Ar. Pap., No. 2013). I was led to the description of this important document by a remark in A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 410. Karabacek lists another 9th century papyrus in the Rainer Collection (*op.cit.*, no. 707, p. 184), also relating to a sugar plantation.

<sup>73</sup> Adolf Grohmann, “Arabische Papyri aus der Sammlung Carl Wessely im Orientalischen Institute zu Prag”, *Archiv Orientalní*, X (1938), pp. 153–156 (no. 4).

<sup>74</sup> Also in the Wessely collection: Adolf Grohmann in *Archivum Orientale Pragense*, XIV (1943), pp. 189–94 (no. 69). I am grateful to Professor Grohmann for drawing my attention to his discussion of sugar in Vol. IV of his *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, p. 10; unfortunately this volume of his monumental catalogue has not been available to me.

<sup>75</sup> Suyūṭi, *Kitāb ḥusn al-muḥāḍarah fī akhbār Miṣr wa'l-Qāhirah* (ed. Cairo, 1299 A. H.), II, p. 228.

put the date still earlier, for both Maqrīzi (d. 1442 A. D.) and Ibn-Taghri-Birdi (d. 1469 A.D.), in describing the administration of Egypt by Qurrah b. Sharīk<sup>76</sup> (90–96 A. H. = 709–714 A.D.), report that that energetic governor was responsible for the reclamation of neglected agricultural land including a place called Birkat al-Ḥabash,<sup>77</sup> where he caused to be planted *qaṣab*, which, as in the case of Balādhuri, can only mean *qaṣab sukkar*.<sup>78</sup> This, so far as I have been able to determine, is the earliest reference (on later authority) to sugar cane in Egypt.

To sum up, then, we have the following *termini a quo*: a) by non-contemporary, but quite reliable, report, approximately 710 A.D., and b) by contemporary document (the Rainer papyrus), approximately 813–833 A.D. As I have remarked at the beginning of this discourse, our glass vessel stamp cannot be exactly dated, but there can be little doubt that it was made in the 8th century, for the vessel stamps accompanied by the names of officials are all of that century and the anonymous ones are similar in epigraphy and content. In consequence this little piece takes a distinguished place not only as the earliest actual document in the history of sugar in Egypt but also as valuable confirmation of a number of later reports to the effect that sugar cane was introduced into Egypt soon after the conquest of the Nile Valley by the Arabs.

It should be emphasized that among the Arabs, as with the later Greeks and Romans, sugar was at first purely a medicament, not the popular gustatorial delicacy which it became later. As *Abū'l-Shifā'*, the "father of remedies," it was prescribed for many ills, especially when mixed with other

<sup>76</sup> See *EAG*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>77</sup> Yāqūt, I, pp. 591–592.

<sup>78</sup> Maqrīzi, *Khīṭāṭ* (ed. Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), I, p. 302, II, p. 152; Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, I, p. 244; cf. Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, II (Strassburg, 1903), p. 101; von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, p. 219.

ingredients, long lists of which are given by al-Rāzi and Avicenna.<sup>79</sup> It is not, therefore, remarkable to find “a measure of sugar” among the druggists’ containers, for sugar was indeed at this time part of his stock in trade, as indeed it is, in various forms, today.

42. Vessel stamp, measure of black lentils.

مكيلة

عدس

اسود

“Measure of black lentils.”

Pale green. 24 mm.

Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (948.226.21)<sup>80</sup>

Casanova (*Fouquet Collection*, p.371, no.150) lists a measure of “black lentils (?)”, apparently with the definite article before the adjective, but there is no trace of the article here;<sup>81</sup> and there are examples of measures of “shelled lentils,”<sup>82</sup> “black lentils” (with the name of the Caliph al-Manṣūr), and “red lentils.”<sup>83</sup>

The fundamental meaning of ‘*adas*, the seed named on this vessel stamp, is the common edible “lentil,” that is, *Lens esculenta* or *Ervum lens* of the family *Leguminosae*, a Eurasian annual which is cooked like peas and beans and also ground into meal. There are many other modern uses of the name in Egypt, with qualifying adjectives or nouns, such as ‘*adas habashi* (*Cajanus flavus*), ‘*adas al-mā*’ (with various meanings

<sup>79</sup> See the very complete discussion and assemblage of sources in von Lippmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 194–211, 246f.; and cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1198, vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 264–266 (*sukkar*), and no. 1800, (vol. XXVI<sup>1</sup>, p. 90 (*qaṣab sukkar*); Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, LV (*loc.cit.*), p. 322; Ruska, *loc.cit.*; Watt, S. 30–486 (vol. VI, pt. 2, pp. 3–380), a very long article including a discussion of medicinal uses of sugar in India (pp. 6–7); *Dispensatory*, pp. 1133–36.

<sup>80</sup> Like nos. 7, 25 and 27, from Brummer, presumably from Fuṣṭāṭ.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. also Petrie, no. 104, not understood, but also a stamp for “black lentils”, issued by ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb.

<sup>82</sup> *EAG*, no. 23; *Fouquet Collection*, p. 365, nos. 65–71.

<sup>83</sup> *EAG*, nos. 58, 179.

*Lemna minor* or "duck-weed," *Lemna polyrrhiza*, *Spirodela polyrrhiza*), and 'adas murr (either *Hedysarum*, or *Sparganium ramosum*, "bur-reed"); but on the vessel stamps there can be little doubt that the meaning is "lentil". The mediaeval Arabic *materia medica* prescribed the lentil in the treatment of many diseases, and also cautioned against its use in certain instances. Avicenna recognized the seed as a blood tonic; according to Rāzi, shelled, it binds the bowels and calms the blood. Vessel stamps for "shelled lentils" are, as noted above, fairly common. There was general agreement that the use of lentils was dangerous in the "melancholy" diseases, such as incipient cancer. Dioscorides details numerous medicinal uses of the lentil, particularly when mixed with certain liquids like honey and vinegar, but he likewise warns that its use in connection with many ailments is hazardous. Popular medicine in India attributes pharmaceutical properties to the lentil, especially as a laxative, but these properties as well as the ancient appear to be imaginary; pharmacy does not recognize any scientific use of the seed today.

As they did with cumin and sesame the Arab druggists distinguished among the colors of the lentil seed. There are in fact several forms of the subspecies *esculenta*, with seed colors ranging from white through yellowish, reddish and grey-brown to almost black. The commonest race is the *vulgaris*, which has white or yellowish seeds clouded with brown or black. In Egypt and western Asia the most widely cultivated form is *erythrosperma*, bearing small light-red seeds, sometimes described as having a dark skin but orange-red inside. This latter form must be the 'adas aḥmar of the vessel stamps. The 'adas aswad could be any of the darker clouded forms.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Lane I<sup>5</sup>, p. 1972; Ahmed Issa, pp. 36, 91, 106, 107, 173; Dioscorides, II, no. 129; Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1518 (vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 438-439); Muschler, I, p. 544; Watt, L. 252; Hedrick, p. 331; Hegi, IV<sup>3</sup>, pp. 1503-5.



In the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology there is a vessel stamp for a measure of white sesame seed identical with *EAG*, no. 180; and also in the same collection a quarter-*qisṭ* stamp with the name of the official effaced; as well as a simple "measure" stamp with a poorly preserved and undeterminable content word.<sup>85</sup>

#### 43. Anonymous amulet.

Similar to *EAG*, no. 218.

Green. 25 mm.

ANS (acquired by purchase from Cairo, 1949).

The following remarks on *EAG* remain to be made:<sup>86</sup>

P. 3: Add to footnote 4 (and p. 68, footnote 98), Monneret de Villard, "Exagia Bizantini in Vetro," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1922, pp. 93-106.

P. 14: The primary references for footnotes 40 and 41 are *Berytus*, II (1935), pp. 139-140, and *ibid.*, pp. 140-141. The weights are unlike the Egyptian disk- and ring-weights in shape.

P. 25: It should be remarked here, and *passim*, that when امر is not followed by the preposition *bi*, the word should be translated "order of," not "ordered."

P. 26: امنتع الله به, not له. The phrase occurs on nos. 90, 92-93.

P. 27: وافية etc., not وافية; and وقبة كبير [ة] (see no. 116); and ثمنية, not ثمنية.

Pp. 28 and 78-9: تملس. This is entirely wrong; the word is نفيس, "excellent, fine, of the first quality." I owe this reading

<sup>85</sup> Inventory nos. 948.226.23, 948.226.21, and 949 × 127.1. The first two were purchased from Brummer, the last of unknown provenance.

<sup>86</sup> A few typographical errors have come to my attention: *Hijrah* for *Hijrah*, pp. vii and 12; *wāf* for *wāfi*, p. 27; تنخسوا for تبخسوا, p. 145. Cf. John Walker, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1949, p. 117.

to M. Marcel Jungfleisch. In the University College Collection there is a beautifully preserved stamp for chick-peas (no. 191), with the same word. Petrie mistakenly read "eighty" (ثمانين). Another occurrence of قيس is on the nearly intact measuring cup for olive oil discussed *infra*, p. 53, and illustrated in PLATE III.

P. 72 and *passim*: The transliteration of ب as *bin* is admittedly an unsatisfactory expedient. It really should be *ibnu*; but to represent it so, in transliterations which are word-for-word and line-for-line transcriptions or translations of the original, implies at least that the *alif* is present, which it rarely is. Another expedient, *bn*, to avoid this embarrassment, might be used, but to the reader of the English text this is both ugly and unreadable.

P. 98: The continuation of Qur'ān, XXVI, 181, is contained in *EAG*, no. 129.

P. 106: I am still not satisfied that كیل is a name. Cf. the suggestive metrological meanings in Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, II, p. 506. But what then would be the connection with طبعه?

P. 125: The copper coins issued by Maṭar were *not* struck at Qinnasrīn. Cf. my *Rare Islamic Coins* (American Numismatic Society *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 118, New York, 1950), no. 407. The coins are indubitably of Egyptian manufacture.

P. 135: The copper coins referred to are *not* correctly attributed to Abū-Ja'far Ashinās (cf. *Rare Islamic Coins*, nos. 405-406). Hence the conclusion that Ashinās' authority "already extended beyond Egypt into 'Irāq" is unwarranted.

P. 139: John Walker (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1949, p. 117) suggests "Abū'l-Wahhāb ibn Tamīm" for the official on vessel stamp no. 118.

P. 145: The Qur'ānic admonition quoted at the bottom of the page (with the first letter omitted, perhaps on the original, or by error in the drawing) occurs on a glass weight from Transjordan.<sup>87</sup>

P. 150: No. 153 probably should not have been included in the book. The epigraphy suggests a later date. Cf. Florence Day in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1949, p. 332.

P. 157: So also no. 220 should be excluded as a piece with probably 4th/10th century epigraphy. Cf. Florence Day, *loc. cit.*, and John Walker, *loc. cit.*

The somewhat detailed study which I have made in the present catalogue of the substances contained in vessels to which stamps were attached (an inquiry which was unduly neglected in *EAG*) suggests a general observation which should be made here. I refer especially to *EAG*, pp. 18–22, 68. It will have been remarked that all the seeds and substances discussed above had in mediaeval and ancient times medicinal or pharmaceutical uses. To these *materia* might be added some others appearing on vessel stamps in *EAG* and in other publications (especially in the *Fouquet Collection*): for example, *julubbān* (*Lathyrus sativus*, “chickling vetch”),<sup>88</sup> which might also be read *jullanār* (*Punica granatum*, “pomegranate”),<sup>89</sup> *duhn* (“oil,” perhaps of sesame),<sup>90</sup> *ṭilā'* (“ointment”),<sup>91</sup> *zayt* (“olive oil,” a very common one),<sup>92</sup> *bisillah*,

<sup>87</sup> Dja'far Abd-el-Kader, in *Berytus*, II (1935), p. 141.

<sup>88</sup> Al-Ghāfiqi, no. 215, pp. 406–408.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Ghāfiqi, no. 194, pp. 370–371; Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 494; cf. Allport, p. 212, for the use of pomegranate rind (*Granati fructus cortex*) as an astringent, and *ibid.*, p. 217, the use of pomegranate bark (*Granati cortex*) as an anthelmintic drug.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Lane, I<sup>3</sup>, p. 926.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, I<sup>5</sup>, p. 1876.

<sup>92</sup> Dioscorides, I, no. 30 (Gunther, p. 25); Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 1141 (vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, pp. 227–228).

for *bisillah* or *bisilla* (*Pisum sativum*, "common pea"),<sup>93</sup> *jubnah*, or *jubn* ("cheese"),<sup>94</sup> *khaukh* ("peach"),<sup>95</sup> and *al-fūl* (*Vicia faba*, "broad bean").<sup>96</sup> Each one of these, aside from its common nutritive use, had its place in the mediaeval pharmacopoeia. My failure to observe this fact caused me to miss entirely the obvious explanation of the use of these vessel stamps: it must now be apparent that they were attached to the cups and bowls in which druggists measured and doubtless sold their pharmaceuticals. Viewing the substances and liquids as grocers' wares and attempting to find an explanation that would reduce the number of such receptacles required in the bazaars of Fuṣṣāṭ, I suggested that the vessel stamps were for use in connection with tax payments in kind (*EAG*, pp. 21–2). This solution is obviously mistaken. That there should have been special glass containers for drugs, which were more costly than groceries and were sold in lesser quantities, is quite reasonable. The size of the measures is another obvious clue to their true purpose: ordinary groceries would not have been retailed in such small amounts as a quarter-*qisṭ* (roughly a quarter-pint), which is one of the quantities commonly specified on the stamps. These containers were, in fact, the 8th century equivalent of the jars and bottles in which we buy proprietary products or receive our doctors' prescriptions from the pharmacy today.

This observation opens up an interesting and almost unexplored field of minor research: what were the types and shapes of early Egyptian Arab druggists' containers, and what, if any, was the prototype of the Egyptian Arab druggist's stamp? The matter was briefly discussed in *EAG*, p. 18,

<sup>93</sup> Lane, I<sup>1</sup>, p. 206; Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 287.

<sup>94</sup> Lane, I<sup>2</sup>, p. 376; al-Ghāfiqī, no. 226, pp. 423–424; Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 467 (vol. XXIII<sup>1</sup>, pp. 343–346).

<sup>95</sup> Ibn al-Bayṭār, no. 830 (vol. XXV<sup>1</sup>, p. 62).

<sup>96</sup> Lane, I<sup>6</sup>, p. 2463; cf. Dioscorides, II, no. 127.

where mention should have been made of *Fouquet Collection*, no.36 (p.364), a stamp attached to a sizable fragment of the mouth of the vessel. Casanova included a rough reconstructed, unscaled drawing of the vessel, which shows a marked bulge in the body, but, as the author remarks, without a pronounced neck. Casanova also observed, apropos of nos. 37-46 in the *Fouquet Collection* (p.364) that the size of the stamp and the size of the neck are not proportionate.

Such casual inquiry as I have made into the forms of Egyptian drug-containers has not been very fruitful, but I suspect that concentrated research in two directions, the archaeological and the literary, would produce some quite interesting results. The Arabic treatises and compendia on pharmacology should be searched; this I have not attempted to do.<sup>97</sup> As for the European literature, the few works that I have consulted suggest that specialized research in the history of drug-containers has been limited largely to the European Renaissance and later, and that few inquiries have been pursued into remoter periods, with the exception perhaps of the ancient Greek. Glass containers of various types and shapes for drugs and cosmetics were used in Greek and Roman times as well as in the Middle Ages, but there appear to be wide gaps in the genealogy of druggists' jars and bottles, particularly between classical times and the 16th century when tin and ceramic vessels became the general rule.<sup>98</sup> Concern with the preservation of drugs can be traced

<sup>97</sup> Attention is invited to the excellent little brochure on Arabian pharmacology, containing four popular but authoritative articles by Max Meyerhof in *Ciba Symposia*, vol. 6, nos. 5 and 6, Summit, New Jersey, Aug.-Sept., 1944. There are several suggestive references here to literature in which descriptions of early mediaeval drug-containers might be found.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Josef Anton Häfliger, *Pharmazeutische Altertumskunde und die Schweizerische Sammlung für historisches Apothekenwesen an der Universität Basel* (Zurich, 1931), especially pp. 62, 65, 81-2; and Paul Dorveaux, *Les Pots de Pharmacie* (2nd ed., Toulouse, 1923). My thanks are due to Dr. George Urdang, Director of the American Institute of the History of

to very early times. Dioscorides, for example, mentions the preferred materials for containers of various kinds of medicines:<sup>99</sup> silver, glass or horn for "moist medicines," brass for eye-medicines, tin for fats, etc., lime-wood and box-wood, and, of course, earthenware, providing it is not too porous.

Particular interest in the present connection attaches to the question of the labeling of drug-containers. One would expect to find a Coptic or Byzantine prototype of our 8th century Arabic stamps, just as the Umayyad coin-weights developed from the Coptic *exagia* which the Arabs found in use upon their arrival in Egypt,<sup>100</sup> but I have been unable to find any trace of such a direct precursor, although a few ancient inscribed drug-containers are known.<sup>101</sup> It would seem that the 8th century Egyptian Arab applied druggist's stamp is an original invention. In mediaeval Europe, and perhaps in earlier times, the usual practice was apparently to attach to the cover or stopper of the jar a removable label of leather, parchment, paper, wood or tin. From the 17th

Pharmacy, Madison, Wisconsin, and to Miss Madeline E. Stanton, in charge of the Historical Library, Yale University School of Medicine, for bringing these two works to my attention. Dorveaux (p. 6) speaks of polychrome faience containers in 16th century France which were referred to by contemporary writers as "de Damas", or "œuvres d'outre mer", but while this style doubtless was imported or copied from the Near East and resulted from contacts during the later crusades, there is obviously scant relationship with our 8th century Egyptian vessels. European glass containers with enameled decoration are said to have been produced in Venice in the 15th century (George Urdang and F. W. Nitardy, *The Squibb Ancient Pharmacy*, New York, 1940).

<sup>99</sup> Dioscorides, Book I, Introductory (Gunther, p. 4).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *EAG*, pp. 3, 68.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Häfliger, *op.cit.*, p. 65. For a discussion of endorsement stamps on ancient Greek clay jars, and citation of the extensive literature on the subject, see Virginia Grace, "Standard Pottery containers of the ancient Greek World", in *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear, Hesperia*, Supplement VIII (1949), pp. 175-89.

century on, permanent painted or inscribed labels on ceramic vessels are common, but nothing quite similar to the 8th century stamp of Futsāt has come to my attention.

The archaeological attack upon the problem of the shape of the vessels with which we are concerned, and of their earlier and later genealogy, should be carried out in Egypt. Correspondence with M. Marcel Jungfleisch suggests that a wealth of valuable material awaits the student in Cairo. In response to queries of mine, M. Jungfleisch has been good enough to investigate the resources of the Musée de l'Art Arabe; to him and to the Director of that museum, Hussein Bey Rached, I am indebted for the photographs of the interesting measuring cups illustrated in PLATE III. It will be observed that the shapes and sizes of these vessels vary considerably,<sup>102</sup> and that the position of the stamp is not constant. Only one inscription is preserved (no. 2): مكيّة زيت | نفيس "measure of olive oil, fine."<sup>103</sup> It is earnestly to be hoped that M. Jungfleisch, or others who have ready access to this rich material, will find the time to publish a comprehensive study of these and similar pieces.

<sup>102</sup> No. 1: Inv. no. 13.716/1, height 42 mm.; No. 2: Inv. no. 14.696, height 75 mm.; No. 3: Inv. no. 13.716/5, height 61 mm.; No. 4: Inv. no. 13.715, height 100 mm., diameter 45 mm. No. 5: Inv. no. 13.716/3, height 34 mm. M. Jungfleisch has been good enough to measure the capacity of these cups by pouring fine sand into them from graduates, with the following results: No. 1, 15cc.; No. 2, 60cc.; No. 3, 40cc., No. 4, 176cc.; No. 5, slightly less than 3cc.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. p. 47, above.

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ARABIC GLASS WEIGHTS

PLATE I



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ARABIC GLASS WEIGHTS

PLATE II



15



16



17



20



23



25



41

VESSEL STAMPS





2



1



3



4



5

EGYPTIAN GLASS JUGS  
(COURTESY OF MUSÉE DE L'ART ARABE, CAIRO)



THE CUMIN PLANT  
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AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, ~~NEW YORK~~  
NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 121

# FĀTIMID COINS

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MUSEUM, PHILADELPHIA, AND THE  
AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

By GEORGE C. MILES



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

*Number* 121

## NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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# Fāṭimid Coins

in the Collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia,  
and the American Numismatic Society

By GEORGE C. MILES

iii



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET  
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FĀṬIMID COINS  
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM,  
PHILADELPHIA,  
AND OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

In the former Yacoub Artin Pasha Collection, now the property of the University Museum in Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> there is a magnificent series of 343 Fāṭimid dinars, most of them in exceptionally beautiful condition. Combined with 194 Fāṭimid coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, the total of 537 pieces constitutes surely one of the finest collections of the coins of the Fāṭimid Caliphs that has ever been brought together.<sup>2</sup> The generous temporary loan of the Artin Pasha Collection to the American Numismatic Society affords the opportunity to publish the combined collections in one article. Most Fāṭimid gold issues are relatively common, and at this date, nearly one hundred and fifty years since the beginning of serious Islamic numismatic study, it is seldom that one meets with an unpublished type; it is therefore the more remarkable that in the present publication there are nearly 140 inedited issues.

In order to save space the descriptions have been reduced to the minimum consistent with accuracy. Published types

<sup>1</sup> Presented by Robert C. H. Brock. Cf. George C. Miles, "Some Early Arab Dinars" in *The American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, III (1948), p. 93. The Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid dinars in the University Museum collection were published in that article. Other 'Abbāsid coins in the same collection appear in my *Rare Islamic Coins* (ANS *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 116, New York, 1950).

<sup>2</sup> The total contrasts with 296 in the published catalogues of the British Museum, 335 in that of the former Khedivial Library in Cairo, and 386 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

are identified by reference to a single previous publication, wherever possible to the most accessible works, *i.e.* the British Museum, Paris and Khedivial catalogues (in that order). In cases where these collections lack the particular type it has been necessary to refer to other publications.<sup>3</sup> Unpublished types (marked \*) are either (a) described in full, or (b) compared to common published types in which the legends and their arrangement are identical to the piece in question except in the detail of mint or date, or both mint and date. Thus, all citations preceded by "cf." imply, not that the reference describes an identical issue but that, except for the substitution of the specific date and mint, the pattern of the formulary inscriptions is the same.

The location of each coin is indicated in the last column of the tables by "UM" for the University Museum, or "ANS" for the American Numismatic Society. The coins in the latter collection are of various origin. The great majority were formerly in the late Edward T. Newell's collection; of

<sup>3</sup> The following abbreviations are used in citing references: BM IV & IX = Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1879 & 1889); BARDO = J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies Fatimites du Musée du Bardo," *Revue Tunisienne*, 1936; BARDO, SUPPL. = J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies Fātimides du Musée du Bardo (Premier supplément)," *Revue Tunisienne*, 1948; CASANOVA = P. Casanova, *Inventaire sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies Musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl* (Paris, 1896); CASANOVA, RN 1894 = P. Casanova, "Dinars inédits du Yémen," *Revue Numismatique*, 1894; CORA = Luigi Cora, "Uno sguardo alla monetazione degli arabi in Sicilia," *Bollettino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano*, 1946, pp. 17-49; DORN I = L'Académicien (Bernhard) Dorn, *Inventaire des monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux et de plusieurs autres dynasties, Classes I-IX* (Saint-Petersbourg, 1877); FRAEHN, SUPPL. = Bernh. Dorn, Ch. M. *Fraehnii Nova Supplementa ad recensionem Numorum muhammedanorum...* (Petropli, 1855); KHEDIVIAL = Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo* (London, 1897); LANE-POOLE, CALVERT = S. Lane-Poole, "Fasti Arabici, II, Mr. Calvert's Collection," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1885, pp. 229-236; MARKOV = A. Markov, *Inventarnii Katalog musulmanskikh monet* (St. Petersburg, 1896); MILAN = Conte Carlo Ottavio Castiglioni, *Monete Cufiche dell' I. R. Museo di Milano* (Milano, 1819); NZ 1876 = Dr. Otto

the remainder, 11 were in the late Howland Wood's collection, three belonged to J. B. Nies, three were donated by Mrs. Edward T. Newell, 11 are on permanent loan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (ex Darius O. Mills, Farman and Durkee Collections), and the rest were acquired over the years by purchase. Among the coins in the ex-Newell collection are 48 quarter-dinars from a hoard of unfortunately undetermined provenance consisting of 152 pieces, all quarter-dinars and including, aside from the Fāṭimid specimens, coins of the Umayyads of Spain (Hishām II), the Dhū'l-Nūnids, the Hūdids and Tujībids of Saragossa, and the Banū Ṣumādiḥ of Almeria. These coins are designated by the letter "H."

In the course of editing the present specimens the author has had occasion to compile a quite extensive corpus of published and unpublished Fāṭimid coins. This corpus is, of course, derived from many more sources than those cited

Blau, "Nachlese orientalischer Münzen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1876; NASSAR = N. G. Nassar, "The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Trans-Jordan," *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 1948, pp. 121-127; ØSTRUP = J. Østrup, *Catalogue des monnaies arabes et turques du Cabinet Royal des Médailles du Musée National de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1938); PALERMO = Can. Bartolomeo Lagumina, *Catalogo delle Monete Arabe esistenti nella Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo* (Palermo, 1892); PARIS = Henri Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Égypte et Syrie* (Paris 1896); RN 1935 = R. Cottevieille-Giraudet, "La Collection Decourdemanche (Monnaies Musulmanes) au Cabinet des Médailles (Suite)," *Revue Numismatique*, 1935; RNB 1864 = "Quatrième lettre de . . . Bartholomaei à M. F. Soret, sur des monnaies orientales inédites," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1864, pp. 289-359; SCHULMAN = sales catalogues of J. Schulman of Amsterdam, referred to by date; SORET À FRAEHN = "Lettre à . . . Fraehn, sur les exemplaires inédits de la collection des monnaies orientales de Mr. Frédéric Soret," *Mémoires Soc. Imp. d'archéologie de St. Petersbourg*, 1851; TIESENHAUSEN, MÉLANGES II = W. Tiesenhausen, "Mélanges de Numismatique Orientale," *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1875; ZAMBAUR, CONTRIBUTIONS II = E. von Zambaur, "Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1905; ZIA = Aḥmed Zia, *Mesḡukāt-i Islāmīyeh Taqīmī* (Constantinople, 1910).

in the footnote above. A by-product of this compilation is a list of known Fāṭimid mints and dates, which is appended at the end of the catalogue with the dual purpose of providing numismatists and collectors with a convenient check-list of Fāṭimid issues, and historians with suggestive ar-

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
<b>ABŪ-MUḤAMMAD ʿUBAYDULLĀH AL-MAHDĪ</b>					
297-322 A.H. = 909-934 A.D.					
1	A'	Al-Qayrawān	303	19.5	4.13
*2	1/4 A'	No Mint	311?	14	1.04
*3	A'	No Mint	314	20	4.12
4	1/4 A'	No Mint?	?	15	1.00
5	1/4 A'	No Mint?	?	14	1.02
6	1/4 A'	No Mint?	?	14.5	1.03

**ABŪ'L-QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD AL-QĀ'IM BI-AMR ALLĀH**  
322-334 A.H. = 934-946 A.D.

*7	1/4 A'	Al-Mahdiyyah?	330?	16.5	1.01
8	1/4 A'	No Mint?	?	15	1.01
*9	℞ fraction	Al-Qayrawān	331	18	0.91
10	℞ fraction	Al-Mahdiyyah	329	17	1.37
11	℞ fraction	Mint?	?	17	1.75

**ABŪ-ṬĀHIR ISMĀ'ĪL AL-MANŠŪR**  
334-341 A.H. = 946-953 A.D.

12	1/4 A'	Ṣiqilliyah	337	16	1.02
----	--------	------------	-----	----	------

chaeological data reflecting the rise, spread, contraction and ultimate extinction of the great Shī'ite religio-political heresy in North Africa and Syria.

Weights are given in grams, diameters in millimeters. Specimens illustrated in the plates have *italicized* numbers.

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 65.	•• above الله rev. area; • • beneath rev. area.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 4-5.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 1.	• beneath rev. area.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 4-5.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 4-5.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 4-5.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 12.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 12.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 14.	Numerous floral letters.	ANS
BM IV, 15.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 14.		ANS
Cora, p. 41.	Obv.: الامام لا اله الا الله النصور بالله Marg.: mint-date. Rev.: اسماعيل محمد رسول الله امير المؤمنين Marg.: Qur'ān, IX, 33.	ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
13	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	341	22	4.03
14	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	337 Muḥarram	23	4.10
*15	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	338 Jumādā II	17	1.03
*16	<i>A'</i> fraction	Effaced	339?	16	1.39

**ABŪ-TAMĪM MA'ADD AL-MU'IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH**

341-365 A.H. = 953-975 A.D.

17	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	343	15	1.03
18	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	344	15	1.02
19	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	344	15	1.02
20	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	345	15	1.00
*21	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	361	16	1.03



Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 88.		UM
Bardo, 23.	Date written: شهر المحرم من سنة ...	UM
Cf. Palermo, p. 143, no. 13, digit lacking.	Date written: شهر جادى الاخر من سنة ..	UM
Cf. Østrup, 1940.	Obv.: عبد الله اسماعيل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو الطاهر  Marg.: Qur'ān, IX, 33. Rev.: الامام النصور بالله محمد رسول الله امير المؤمنين  Marg.: mint-date. The date is very curiously written, but is probably correctly read. The dies are well engraved with fine ornamental let- ters.	ANS
Paris, 95.		UM
Paris, 96.		UM
Paris, 96.	Different dies.	UM
Palermo, p. 145, no. 17		UM
Cf. Østrup, 1945.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
22	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	363	15	1.01
*23	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	No date	13	1.02
*24	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	No date	13	0.95
*25	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṭarābulus	364	17	0.98
26	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṭarābulus	365	16	1.03
27	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṭarābulus	365	18	1.02
28	<i>A'</i>	Filastīn	359	24	4.18
29	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	358	23.5	4.14
*30	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	359 Rajab	23	4.17
31	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	359 Sha'bān	24	3.99
32	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	359 Ramaḍān	24	4.11
*33	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	360 Jumādā I	24	4.17
34	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	361 Jumādā I	23	4.18
35	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	361 Jumādā I	23	4.09
36	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	361 Jumādā I	22	3.86
37	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	361	24	4.14
38	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	362 Muḥarram	22	4.09
39	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	362 Muḥarram	22	4.15
40	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	362 Jumādā II	22	4.17
41	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	362	22	4.17
42	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	363	22	4.10
43	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	363	22	4.13

Reference	Description	Collection
Østrup 1945. Cf. Paris, 95.	Crude epigraphy; abbreviated legends. There are only three letters after <i>sanah</i> .	UM ANS
Cf. Paris, 95. Cf. Khedivial, 996. Khedivial, 996.	As above but different dies. Digit: خمسة. <i>Al-Mu'minin</i> ends with floral flourish.	ANS UM UM
Khedivial, 996. Paris, 98. BM IV, 29.	Similar, but different dies. The BM description of this type is misleading in implying that there is a pellet in the center of the obv. and rev. There is none.	UM UM UM
Cf. BM IX, 30 <sup>a</sup> .	Date written: في شهر رجب من سنة ...	UM
BM IX, 30 <sup>a</sup> .		UM
Khedivial, 970.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 31.	Date written: في جمادى الاول سنة ... The rev. middle marg. reads: etc. ( <i>sic!</i> ) دعا الامام معز	UM
BM IV, 34.	Date written: في جمادى الاول سنة ...	UM
BM IV, 34.	Same dies.	UM
BM IV, 34.	Same dies.	ANS
Khedivial, 977. BM IV, 36.	Date written: في المحرم سنة اثنين ...	UM ANS
BM IV, 36.	Similar but different dies.	UM
BM IV, 37.	Date written: في جمادى الاخر سنة اثنين ...	UM
Casanova, 1277 (not described). BM IV, 38. BM, IV, 38.	As above, but without indication of month. Digit: اثنتين Different dies.	UM UM ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
44	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	364	21	4.01
45	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	364	21	3.97
46	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	365	22	3.99
47	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	365	22	4.09
48	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	342	23	4.12
49	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	346	23	4.16
50	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	347	22	4.02
*51	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	351	15	1.03
52	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	352	14.5	1.01
53	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	353	20.5	4.07
*54	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	357	20	4.01
55	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	360	20	4.03
56	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	360	21	4.01
*57	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	360	21	4.13
58	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	361	20.5	4.11
59	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	361	16	1.01
60	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	362	21	4.15
61	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	362	22	4.12
62	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	362	15	1.00
63	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	360	15	0.99
64	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	361	14.5	1.01
65	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	363	16	1.00
66	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	364	16	1.00
* 67	1/4 <i>A'</i>	No Mint	No date	15.5	1.10

Reference	Description	Collection
BM IV, 39.		UM
BM IV, 39.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 43.		UM
BM IV, 43.	Different dies.	ANS
Khedivial 957; Bardo, Suppl. 15 (cf. pp. 2-3).	Lane-Poole's readings are to be corrected in certain respects. The unusual legends are correctly given by Farrugia de Candia.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 25.	There is no pellet in the center of obv. and rev.	UM
BM IV, 26.	Pellet on circle separating outer from middle margin of rev. indicates point at which legend of latter begins.	UM
Cf. Paris, 109.	Digit: احد.	UM
Paris, 109.		UM
Paris, 110	Pellet on circle separating inner from middle margin of obv. indicates point at which these two legends begin.	UM
Cf. Markov, p. 348, no. 10 (not described).	As no. 53, except date.	UM
BM IV, 32.		UM
BM IV, 32.	Same dies?	ANS
	Similar to nos. 55-56, but عدل in place of pellet in rev. center.	UM
Paris, 114.		UM
Paris, 115.		UM
Paris, 116.		UM
Paris, 116.	Same rev. dies.	ANS
Østrup, 1944.		UM
BM IV, 33.		UM
Palermo, p. 146, no. 18.	Digit: احد.	ANS
Khedivial, 984.		UM
Østrup, 1946.		ANS
	Obv.: Two undeciphered circular legends; pellet in center. Rev.: Outer marg.: دعا الامام معد لتوحيد الاله الصمد Inner marg.: المعز دين الله امير المؤمنين Pellet in center.	ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
*68	Æ	Filastīn	359	26	2.96
*69	Æ	Miṣr	364	18	1.39
70	Æ	Al-Manṣūriyah	356 ?	20	1.44
71	Æ	Al-Manṣūriyah	359	20	1.40
*72	Æ	Al-Manṣūriyah	361	19	1.41
73	Æ	Al-Manṣūriyah	x	20	2.57
*74	Æ	Al-Mahdiyyah	343	18	1.47
*75	Æ	Al-Mahdiyyah	356	20	1.27
76	1/4 Æ	Imitation of coin of al-Mu'izz.			

## ABŪ-MANṢŪR NIZĀR AL-'AZĪZ BĪ'LLĀH

365-386 A.H. = 976-996 A.D.

*77	1/4 Æ	Ṣiqilliyah	366	16	1.00
*78	Æ	Filastīn	370	24	4.00
*79	Æ	Filastīn	370	24	3.88
*80	Æ	Filastīn	371	22	4.09
*81	Æ	Filastīn	371	22	4.11
*82	Æ	Filastīn	375	22	4.11
*83	Æ	Filastīn	375	22.5	4.05

Reference	Description	Collection
Cf. Nassar, p. 125, same date and mint, but not described.	Inscriptions, similar to no. 28 above (i.e., Paris, 98), except dirhem, and rev. middle margin reads: محمد خير المرسلين وعلى افضل الوصيين	ANS
Bardo, 44.	Similar to no. 44, but dirhem.	ANS
Østrup, 1948.	Similar to no. 58, but dirhem.	ANS
	Similar to BM IV, 48, but date effaced.	ANS
	Similar to BM IV, 48, except mint and date.	ANS
	Similar to no. 74 except date.	ANS
		ANS
Differs from BM IV, 52.	Obv.: Inner marg.: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على خير صفوة الله (sic) Outer marg.: Qur'ān IX, 33. In center, pellet within circle. Rev.: Inner marg.: عبد الله ووليه نزار الامام العزيز بالله امير (sic) Outer marg.: mint-date. Pellet as on obv.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 54.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 54.	On both obv. and rev., within space between inner margin and circle enclosing pellet, at right: ط (pointed). Pellet over م of مئة and over ه of ليظهره.	ANS
Cf. Nassar, p. 126, same date and mint, but not described.	Inscriptions similar to BM IV, 54, except date.	UM
As no. 80.	As above, different dies.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 54.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 54.	Beneath ولو in obv. outer margin, two pellets.	ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
84	A'	Filastīn	376	22.5	4.07
*85	A'	Filastīn	378	23	4.09
86	A'	Miṣr	365	24	4.13
87	A'	Miṣr	366	24	4.12
88	A'	Miṣr	366	23	4.11
89	A'	Miṣr	367	23	4.12
90	A'	Miṣr	368	23	4.14
91	A'	Miṣr	369	22	4.13
92	A'	Miṣr	369	22	4.08
93	A'	Miṣr	370	22	4.14
94	A'	Miṣr	371	22	4.11
95	A'	Miṣr	371	22	4.13
96	A'	Miṣr	372	22	4.15
97	A'	Miṣr	373	22	4.12
98	A'	Miṣr	374	22	4.13
99	A'	Miṣr	375	21	4.11
100	A'	Miṣr	376	23	4.13
101	A'	Miṣr	377	23	3.81
102	A'	Miṣr	378	23	4.13
103	A'	Miṣr	380	23	4.11
*104	A'	Miṣr	382	21	4.11
*105	A'	Miṣr	382	21	4.15
106	A'	Miṣr	384	21.5	4.15
107	A'	Miṣr	385	22.5	4.04
*108	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	368	21	3.98 pierced
109	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	375	21	4.07
110	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	385	21	3.92
111	A'	Al-Mahdiyyah	370	20	4.11
112	A'	Al-Mahdiyyah	370	20	4.06
113	A'	Al-Mahdiyyah	371	21	4.13
114	A'	Al-Mahdiyyah	381	21	4.16
*115	A'	Al-Mahdiyyah	383	20.5	3.96
*116	A'	Miṣr	381	19	1.26
*117	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	368	18	1.35
*118	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	376	19	1.31
119	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah ?	[3]x7	19	1.35
120	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	x	19	1.28
121	A' fraction	No Mint	Nodate	15	0.73



Reference	Description	Collection
BM IV, 60.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 54.		UM
Paris, 141.		UM
BM IV, 50.		UM
BM IV, 50.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 53.		UM
BM IX, 53 <sup>d</sup> .		UM
Khedivial, 1006.		UM
Khedivial, 1006.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IX, 54 <sup>e</sup> .		UM
BM IV, 56.		UM
BM IV, 56.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 58.		UM
BM IV, 59.		UM
Khedivial, 1016.		UM
Paris, 147.		UM
Khedivial, 1020.		UM
Khedivial, 1021.	Crudely engraved.	UM
Fraehn, Suppl. p. 81.	Very debased epigraphy. For example, the <i>مصر</i> of <i>مصر</i> is represented by a single line.	UM
Khedivial, 1025.	Debased epigraphy.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 50.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 50.	Different dies.	ANS
Khedivial, 1031.	Engraving is regular and well-executed, but the letters are sometimes compressed and abbreviated.	UM
Khedivial, 1032.	Debased epigraphy.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 63.		UM
Paris, 151.	Point on circle between obv. inner and outer margins over word 'Ali.	UM
BM IV, 68.		UM
BM IV, 55.		UM
BM IV, 55.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 57.		UM
RN 1935, p. 40, no. 8.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 55.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS
RN 1935, p. 41, no. 9.		ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
122	AR fraction	No mint	No date	14	0.67
123	AR fraction	No Mint	No date	13	0.61
124	AR	Mint effaced	x	18	1.37

ABŪ-‘ALĪ AL-MANŞŪR AL-ḤĀKIM BĪ-AMRĪ‘LLĀH

386-411 A.H. = 996-1021 A.D.

*125	1/4 A	[Ṣiqilliyah]	401	12	0.96
*126	1/4 A	Ṣiqilliyah	407/9	13	0.96
127- 131	1/4 A	[Ṣiqilliyah]	x	13-13.5	Avg. 0.99
132- 133	1/4 A	[Ṣiqilliyah ?]	x	12	Avg. 0.89
*134	A	Filastīn	389	23	3.92
135	A	Miṣr	386	22	4.12
136	A	Miṣr	387	24	4.15
137	A	Miṣr	387	23	4.11

Reference	Description	Collection
RN 1935, p. 41, no. 9.		ANS
RN 1935, p. 41, no. 9.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 72.		ANS

Differs from BM IV, 83.	<p>Obv.: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله</p> <p>Marg.: Qur'an, IX, 33.</p> <p>Rev.: الامام المنصور الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Marg.: mint-date.</p>	ANS(H)
	<p>Obv. as no. 125.</p> <p>Rev.: المنصور ابو على الامام امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Marg.: mint-date.</p>	ANS(H)
Cf. Palermo, p. 154, no. 45 (unattributed).	<p>Obv.: محمد رسول الله على ولي الله</p> <p>Marg.: part of Qur'an IX, 33.</p> <p>Rev.: الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Marg.: mint-date (frag.)</p> <p>Similar to no. 126.</p>	ANS(H)
Cf. Khedivial, 1045. Østrup, 1954. BM IX, 72 <sup>t</sup> . Cf. BM IX, 72 <sup>t</sup> .	<p>Pellet in center of obv. and rev. On coins of this type the pellet is usually not described by the editors. In some cases the pellet is not free-standing,</p>	<p>UM UM UM ANS</p>

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
138	A'	Miṣr	388	24	4.19
139	A'	Miṣr	389	24	4.14 pierced
140	A'	Miṣr	390	23	4.16
141	A'	Miṣr	392	23	4.13
142	A'	Miṣr	392	22	4.17
143	A'	Miṣr	392 ?	23.5	[4.46]
144	A'	Miṣr	393	22	4.13
145	A'	Miṣr	394	22	4.18
*146	A'	Miṣr	397	23	4.11
147	A'	Miṣr	398	23	4.16
148	A'	Miṣr	399	22.5	4.09
149	A'	Miṣr	400	23	4.20
150	A'	Miṣr	403	23	4.20
151	A'	Miṣr	403	22	3.70
*152	A'	Miṣr	404	20	4.09 pierced
153	A'	Miṣr	405	22.5	4.13
154	A'	Miṣr	406	22	4.19
155	A'	Miṣr	407	23	[4.57]
156	A'	Miṣr	407	23	4.21
157	A'	Miṣr	408	22	4.20
158	A'	Miṣr	409	22	4.12

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 175. Paris, 176. Paris, 177. Khedivial, 1041. Khedivial, 1041. Khedivial, 1041. BM IV, 75. Paris, 180. Cf. BM IV, 73. Dorn I, p. 62, no. 4. RN 1935, p. 42, no. 10. BM IV, 82. BM IV, 85. BM IV, 85. Cf. BM IV, 85.	and is rather the termination of one of the letters in the center of the area inscription.  Different dies. Framed and fitted with two rings.  Different dies. Other specimens of this mint and date which have been published are of the type with the name of the heir apparent. Three points over ش of سنة; point over ن of لاشريك.	UM UM UM UM ANS UM UM UM UM UM UM UM ANS UM
BM IV, 88.	Points as follows: three over ش of ض, المسلمين ن of لاشريك; one each over ن of سنة, ضرب of خمس.	UM
BM IV, 90. BM IV, 91.	Points as on BM specimen. Points as on BM specimen. Framed and fitted with ring.	UM UM
BM IV, 91.	Points as on BM specimen. Same dies as no. 155.	ANS
Khedivial, 1049.	Points as follows: one each over ن of ذ, ضرب of ض, المسلمين ن of المشركون of سنة. The description of the Khedivial specimen is probably faulty in that it gives the 2nd line of the rev. ending with امير; it probably has the improved reverse, as here, with امير on the 3rd line.	UM
BM IV, 93.	Points as on BM specimen, plus ذ of هذا.	UM

2\*

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
*159	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	410	22	4.20
160	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	410	22	4.18
161	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	411	22	4.22
162– 164	1/4 <i>A'</i>	[Al-Manṣūriyah]	x	13	1.00
*165	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	392	13	1.00
*166	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	404	24	4.13 pierced
167	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	412 <i>sic</i>	12.5	0.90 pierced
168	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	x	12	0.63
169– 170	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	10.5	Avg. 0.84
171	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	14	1.01
172	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	12.5	0.98
173	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	12.5	1.00
174	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	13.5	0.90

Reference	Description	Collection
Cf. BM IV, 94.	No error in obv. margin. Points as follows: one each over ن of سنة ن هذا ذ, ضرب of المسلمين.	UM
BM IV, 95.	Points as above, plus ط of ليظهره.	ANS
BM IV, 96.	Points as on BM specimen.	UM
Cf. BM IX, 81 <sup>d</sup> .	Composite rev. margin: ... ضرب هذا الدينار بالك ...	ANS(H?)
Cf. BM IX, 81 <sup>d</sup> .	Cf. Tiesenhausen, <i>Mélanges</i> II, 154, described as a dinar, but probably a quarter similar to this.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 74 Khedivial, 1057.	Similar to no. 126 above, except mint (and date). Obv.: محمد رسول الله على ولي الله Marg.: Qur'ān, IX, 33 (frag.) Rev.: الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين س Marg.: off flan.	UM UM ANS ANS (H)
Cf. BM IV, 83.	Pellets above and beneath obv. as well as beneath rev. Obv. similar to no. 125 above. Rev.: الامام المنصور الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين Marg.: effaced. Obv.: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله Marg.: Qur'ān, IX, 33 (frag.) Rev.: الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين Marg.: mint-date (frag.) Similar to no. 173, but pellet above	ANS ANS(H) ANS(H)

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
175	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	13	1.02
*176	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	406	19	1.30
177	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	x	22.5	4.77
178	<i>A'</i>	[Al-Manṣūriyah ?]	x	23.5	4.40
*179	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	401	22	2.36
*180	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	401	20	1.79
181– 182	<i>A'</i>	No Mint	No date	15–17	0.66–1.12
183	<i>A'</i>	No Mint	No date	17	1.05
184	<i>A'</i>	No Mint	No date	13	0.80
185	<i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	3xx	17	1.41
186– 191	<i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	17–21	1.10–3.15

## ABŪ'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ AL-ZĀHIR LI-Ā'ZĀZ DĪN-ALLĀH

411–427 A.H. = 1021–1036 A.D.

*192	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	414 ?	15	0.96
*193	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	417 ?	14	1.00
194	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	419	14.5	0.97
195	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	419	14	0.97
196	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	419	14	0.99
197	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṣiqilliyah	420 Rabī'	15	0.97



Reference	Description	Collection
Cf. BM, IV, 90.	and beneath obv. area, س (?) beneath rev. area. Barbarous margins. Barbarous. Probably al-Ḥākim. Differs from Khedivial, 1071. Point over ن of المسلمين.	ANS UM
Cf. BM IV, 106.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 106.	Fabric and style similar to no. 177.	ANS
Cf. Schulman, March 1914, p. 32, no. 460.	Legends similar to BM IV, 85, expect dirhem, mint and date.	ANS
As no. 179.	Similar, legends poorly preserved.	ANS
BM IV, 104.	Floral epigraphy.	ANS
Paris, 211.	Pellet above obv. and rev.	ANS
Paris, 212.		ANS
	Obv.: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله	ANS
	Marg.: mint-date. Rev.:	
	النصور ابو علي الامام الحاكم بامر الله امير المؤمنين	
BM IV, 105.	Marg.: Qur'an IX, 33 (frag.)	ANS
Cf. Paris, 217.		ANS(H)
Cf. Paris, 217.	Rev. area lacks pellets.	ANS(H)
Palermo, p. 156, no. 53.		UM
Palermo, p. 156, no. 53.		ANS
Palermo, p. 156, no. 53.		ANS(H)
Palermo, p. 158, no. 57.	Not specified whether Rabi' I or II.	ANS(H)

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
198	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	420	13	0.96
199	1/4 <i>N</i>	[Şiqilliyah]	[412-420]	14	0.98
200	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	421	14	1.00
201	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	422	13.5	0.96
202	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	422	14	0.96
203	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	423	14	0.97
204	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	423	14.5	0.98
205	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	423 ?	12.5	0.90
206	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	426	13	0.98
207	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	427	12	0.88
*208	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	428 <i>sic</i>	14.5	0.97
209	1/4 <i>N</i>	[Şiqilliyah]	429 <i>sic</i>	12	1.00
210- 211	1/4 <i>N</i>	Şiqilliyah	4xx	14-15	0.86-1.02
212	<i>N</i>	Şûr	424	21.5	4.17
213	<i>N</i>	Mişr	413	22.5	4.05
214	<i>N</i>	Mişr	414	22.5	4.06
*215	1/4 <i>N</i>	Mişr	414	18	1.07

Reference	Description	Collection
BM IV, 115. Cf. Paris, 217. Palermo, p. 161, no. 68. BM IV, 118.	Date written: اثنى عشرين وار	UM ANS(H) UM UM
BM IV, 118.	Date written: اثنى عشرين وار	UM
BM IV, 120.		UM
BM IV, 120.	Date ends: واربعما	ANS
BM IV, 120.		ANS
BM IV, 122.	Digit: ستة	UM
Palermo, p. 165, no. 122.		ANS(H)
	Obv.: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله لا اله الا الله Marg.: Qur'ān IX, 33. Rev.: عبد الله الامام الظاهر امير المؤمنين وولي Marg.: mint-date.	ANS(H) ANS(H)
Paris, 238. <i>sic</i>	Obv.: similar to no. 208. Rev.: عبد الله ابو الحسن على امير المؤمنين وولي Marg.: mint-date.	ANS(H) ANS(H)
Østrup, 1962.	Point over first ن of المؤمنين.	ANS
BM IV, 108.	Digit: ثمانية. Points as follows: one each over ط of الظاهر ن of دين, 2nd ضرب of المؤمنين ن	UM
Khedivial, 1074.	Point over 1st ن of المؤمنين.	UM
Cf. Khedivial, 1074.	Note the unusual size, much larger than the regular quarter-dinar, and the heavy weight. Also, a quarter-dinar of Miṣr is a novelty. Cf. nos. 221, 226 and 343 below.	UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
216	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	415	23	4.09
217	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	416	22	[4.40] ringed
218	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	417	22	[4.41] ringed
219	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	418	22	4.25
220	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	419	23	4.20
*221	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Miṣr	421	17.5	1.11
222	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	422	22	4.18
223	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	422	21.5	4.14
224	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	423	22	4.23
225	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	425	23.5	4.08
*226	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Miṣr	426	17.5	1.06
227	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	427	24	4.17
*228	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	416	22	4.05 pierced
229	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	419	24	4.20 pierced
230	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	420	24	4.22
*231- 234	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	429 <i>sic</i>	12-13	Avg. 0.90
235- 237	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	No date	11.5-12	Avg. 0.93
238	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	No date	12.5	0.92
239	<i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	x	23	4.08
240- 244	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Al-Manṣūriyah	x	12-13	Avg. 0.86
*245	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	419	23	3.92

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 242.	Points as follows: one each over ط of ضرب ض, المؤمنين ن of 2nd الظاهر, سنة ن of .	UM
Paris, 243.	Point over 1st ن of المؤمنين .	UM
BM IV, 112.	Point over ض of ضرب .	UM
BM IV, 113.	Points as on BM specimen.	UM
BM IV, 114.	Point as on BM specimen.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 117.	Cf. nos. 215 above, and nos. 226 and 343 below.	UM
Cf. Markov, p. 351, no.66 (not described).	Cf. BM IV, 117.	UM
As no. 222.	Point over 2nd ن of المؤمنين .	ANS
Khedivial, 1086.	Point as above.	UM
BM IV, 121.		UM
Cf. BM IX, 121 <sup>d</sup> .	Cf. nos. 215 and 221 above, and no. 343 below.	UM
Khedivial, 1093.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 109.		UM
BM IX, 114 <sup>c</sup> .	ر above rev. area.	UM
Bardo, Suppl. 38.	As no. 229.	UM
Cf. Bardo, 89-91, dated xx9.	In view of the obv. and rev. area legends of the type introduced in 421, there can be little doubt that the Bardo specimens are 429 and not 419.	ANS(H)
Cf. Paris, 246.	Rev. margin ends سنة .	ANS(H)
Cf. Paris, 246.	Rev. margin ends بالنصورية ار .	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 109.	Obscure letter د (?) beneath obv. area. *above and ن beneath rev. area.	ANS
Palermo, p. 171, no. 161.		ANS(H <sub>2</sub> )
Cf. Khedivial, 1080.	دين omitted from 1st line of rev. area, and الله in 2nd line is contracted to اله. Beneath rev. area at right حر. In rev. inner margin between الله and ووله, two Naskhi letters رب?	ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
246	<i>N</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	420	24	4.11
247	<i>N</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	422	24	3.99 pierced
*248	<i>N</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	426	24	4.11
*249- 253	1/4 <i>N</i>	No Mint	No date	13-14	Avg. 0.82
*254	1/4 <i>N</i>	No Mint	No date	11	0.90
255	1/4 <i>N</i>	Mint effaced	417?	13	0.94
256	1/4 <i>N</i>	Mint effaced	x	13	0.86
257	<i>R</i>	Mint effaced	42x	20	2.74
258	<i>R</i>	Mint effaced	x	18	2.05

## ABŪ-TAMĪM MA'ADD AL-MUSTAŖSĪR BI'LLĀH

427-487 A.H. = 1036-1094 A.D

*259	<i>N</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	435	24	3.82
260	<i>N</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	465	21.5	2.87
261	<i>N</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	471	22	4.05
262	<i>N</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	472	22	4.24
263	<i>N</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	473	22	4.23

Reference	Description	Collection
Khedivial, 1080.	دين in 1st line of rev. area omitted or contract ed to one letter. Same symbol beneath rev. ar- ae as on no. 245.	ANS
Khedivial, 1085.	Same symbol as on no. 245 beneath obv. and rev. areas.	UM
Cf. Khedivial, 1085. pierced	دين contracted as above. Same sym- bol as on no. 245 beneath rev. area. Obv. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله Marg.: Qur'ān IX, 33. Rev.: الظاهر لاعزاز دين الله امير المؤمنين Marg.: عبد الله ووليه على ابو الحسن الامام Obv.: محمد رسول الله على ولي الله Marg.: obscure, but apparently not mint-date formula. Rev. as no. 249. Obv. as no. 254, margin illegible. Rev.: الامام الظاهر امير المؤمنين Marg.: mint-date.	UM UM UM ANS(H) ANS(H) ANS(H) ANS(H) ANS ANS
Cf. BM IV, 118. Cf. BM IV, 107. Cf. BM IV, 107.	Point over ظ of الظاهر .	UM UM UM UM UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
264	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	474	23	4.00
265	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	474	23	4.22
266	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	475	23	4.20
*267	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	477 ?	24	4.27
268	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	478	23	4.20
269	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	479	23	4.14
270	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	482	20.5	3.96 pierced
271	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	483	22	3.99
272	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	483	23	4.27
273	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	484	23	4.06
274	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	485	23	3.96
275	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	486	23	4.28
*276	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	487	22	4.31
277	<i>A'</i>	Ḥalab	446	22	4.08
278	<i>A'</i>	Dimishq	437	23	3.94
279	<i>A'</i>	Dimishq	441	21	3.79 pierced
280	<i>A'</i>	Zabīd	447	22	4.02
281	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	429	12.5	0.96 pierced
282	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	431	14	1.00
283	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	[431]	13	0.98
*284	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	43x	13	0.97
*285	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	444	14	1.01
*286— 287	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Şiqilliyah	No date	12, 14.5	0.90—0.99



Reference	Description	Collection
Milan, CCXXV.		UM
BM IV, 178.		UM
BM IV, 179.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 178.		UM
Paris, 262.		UM
Khedivial, 1184.		UM
Paris, 263.		UM
Khedivial, 1187.		UM
Khedivial, 1187.	Same dies.	ANS
BM IV, 184.		UM
BM IX, 184 <sup>d</sup> .		UM
Khedivial, 1192.		UM
Cf. Schulman, Nov. 1907, p. 54, no. 898 (date doubtful).		UM
Khedivial, 1146.	Points: one each over ضرب of ض, واربعين ع.	UM
Paris, 270.		UM
RN 1935, p. 198, no. 15.		UM
Casanova, RN 1894, p. 205.	For the historical implications see Casanova, <i>loc. cit.</i> , pp. 201–212, and the article <i>Ṣulaiḥids</i> in <i>Encyclopaedia of Islām</i> . For the mint cf. <i>Num- ismatic Chronicle</i> , 1939, pp. 85–6.	ANS
Paris, 273.		UM
Palermo, p. 173, no. 166; cf. Paris, 322.		ANS(H)
As no. 282.		ANS(H)
	Obv. similar to BM IV, 129. Rev.:	ANS(H)
	<p> الامام  محمد ابو تميم  المستنصر بالله  امير المؤمنين </p>	
	Marg.- mint-date.	
Cf. Paris, 278.		ANS(H)
	Obv.: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ضرب بصقلية	ANS(H)

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
*288	<i>N</i>	Şūr	434	23	3.97
*289	<i>N</i>	Şūr	435	23	4.10
*290	<i>N</i>	Şūr	437	22.5	3.49
291	<i>N</i>	Şūr	439	22.5	4.12
292	<i>N</i>	Şūr	441	21	4.29
293	<i>N</i>	Şūr	442	22.5	4.06
294	<i>N</i>	Şūr	443	21	4.01
295	<i>N</i>	Şūr	444	21.5	3.74
296	<i>N</i>	Şūr	446	22	4.39
297	<i>N</i>	Şūr	447	22	3.73
*298	<i>N</i>	Şūr	450	21.5	4.20
299	<i>N</i>	Şūr	468	24.5	3.93 pierced
*300	<i>N</i>	Ṭabarīyah	439	22.5	4.21
*301	<i>N</i>	Ṭabarīyah	447	22	4.23
*302	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	431	22	4.12
303	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	436	23	3.86
304	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	439	23	4.11
305	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	440	23.5	4.17
306	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	444	21	4.13
307	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	446	21.5	3.67
308	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	449	21.5	3.87
309	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	464	22	4.15 pierced
310	<i>N</i>	Ṭarābulus	471	23	3.15
*311	<i>N</i>	‘Akka	472	22	3.31
312	<i>N</i>	Filastīn	438	22.5	4.00
*313	<i>N</i>	Filastīn	440	22	3.64
*314	<i>N</i>	Filastīn	443	21	4.82
315	<i>N</i>	Filastīn	444	21.5	3.76
316	<i>N</i>	Miṣr	427	23.5	4.12

Reference	Description	Collection
	Rev.: <b>الامام ابو تميم</b> <b>معد المستنصر بالله</b> <b>امير المؤمنين</b> No marginal legends.	
Cf. BM IV, 127.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 127.		UM
Cf. Paris, 270.		UM
Khedivial, 1125.		UM
Lane-Poole, Calvert, no. 37.		UM
BM IV, 145.	Points as on BM specimen.	UM
Paris, 331.	Point over <b>ض</b> of <b>ض</b> .	ANS
Cf. Markov, p. 352, no. 90 (not described).	As above, including point.	UM
Khedivial, 1147.	Point as above.	UM
Cf. Markov, p. 352, no. 94 (not described).	Point as above.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 145.	Point as above.	UM
Paris, 335.		UM
	Similar to BM IV, 140, except mint and date.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.	Point over <b>ض</b> of <b>ض</b>	UM
Cf. BM IV, 127.		UM
Khedivial, 1112.		UM
BM IX, 140 <sup>c</sup> .		UM
BM IX, 140 <sup>p</sup> .		ANS
BM IX, 149 <sup>d</sup> .	Point over <b>ض</b> of <b>ض</b>	ANS
BM IV, 152.	Point as on BM specimen.	UM
BM IV, 159.	Point as on BM specimen.	UM
RN 1935, p. 200, no. 20.	Rev. margin normal.	UM
BM IX, 177 <sup>k</sup> .		UM
Cf. BM IV, 132.	Numerous minor errors in the in- scriptions.	UM
Khedivial, 1122.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 140.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.	Point over <b>ض</b> of <b>ض</b> . Note ex- ceptional weight.	ANS
Khedivial, 1141.	Point as on Khedivial specimen.	UM
BM IV, 124.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
317	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	428	23	4.21
318	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	428	23	4.26
319	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	429	23	4.26
320	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	430	24	[4.84]
321	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	431	23	3.94
322	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	431	24	4.20
323	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	432	23	3.87
324	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	433	24	4.08
325	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	434	22	3.89
326	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	434	23	4.09
327	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	435	23.5	4.14
328	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	435	23.5	4.18
329	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	436	22.5	4.22
330	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	437	22	3.61
331	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	438	23	4.26
332	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	439	22	4.22
333	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	440	21	3.76 pierced
334	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	440	22	[4.49]
335	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	440	22	4.20
336	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	441	22	4.15
337	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	441	22	4.22
338	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	442	21.5	4.13
339	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	442	22	4.20
340	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	443	22	4.23
341	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	433	21.5	4.20
342	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	444	21	3.74
*343	$\frac{1}{4}$ <i>A'</i>	Miṣr	444	17	1.05
344	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	445	22	4.14
345	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	446	21.5	4.26
346	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	446	22	4.21 pierced
347	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	447	20	3.77 pierced
348	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	447	21.5	4.03
349	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	448	22	4.25
*350	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	449	21.5	3.96 pierced
351	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	450	22	4.17

Reference	Description	Collection
BM IV, 125.		UM
BM IV, 125.	Different dies.	ANS
Khedivial, 1102.	ن above rev. area.	UM
BM IV, 127.	Framed and fitted with ring.	UM
BM IV, 128.		UM
BM IV, 128.	Same dies.	ANS
Paris, 352.	Points as follows: two over ت of تميم, one over ن of المستمر, one under ب of باه in rev. area.	UM
Khedivial, 1106.	Points as above, plus one each over 2nd ن of المؤمنين, ن of ضرب, ن of سنة, ن of الدينار.	UM
BM IV, 131.	Points as on BM specimen.	UM
BM IV, 131.	Points as on BM specimen.	ANS
BM IV, 132.		UM
BM IV, 132.	Same dies.	UM
BM IV, 134.		UM
BM IV, 135 b.		UM
BM IV, 137.		UM
BM IV, 140.		UM
BM IV, 141.		UM
BM IV, 141.	Different dies. Framed and fitted with ring.	UM
BM IV, 141.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 144.		UM
BM IV, 144.	Same dies.	ANS
Paris, 362.		UM
Paris, 362.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 147.		UM
BM IV, 147.	Same dies.	ANS
BM IV, 148.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 148.	Cf. nos. 215, 221 and 226 above.	UM
BM IV, 150.		UM
BM IV, 151.		UM
BM IV, 151.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 154.		UM
BM IV, 154.	Different dies.	ANS
Paris, 368.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.		UM
Khedivial, 1156.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
352	A'	Miṣr	450	22	4.07
353	A'	Miṣr	451	21	[4.29] ringed
354	A'	Miṣr	451	21	4.16
355	A'	Miṣr	452	22	4.17
356	A'	Miṣr	453	22	4.25
357	A'	Miṣr	454	22	4.17
358	A'	Miṣr	454	22	4.21
359	A'	Miṣr	455	22	4.20
360	A'	Miṣr	456	21.5	3.89
361	A'	Miṣr	457	22	4.06
362	A'	Miṣr	458	21	4.26
363	A'	Miṣr	460	22	4.21 pierced
364	A'	Miṣr	461	21	4.26 pierced
*365	A'	Miṣr	464	22	4.27
*366	A'	Miṣr	466	22	4.18
*367	A'	Miṣr	469	21	4.21
368	A'	Miṣr	470	21.5	4.09
*369	A'	Miṣr	472	23	4.15
370	A'	Miṣr	473	23	4.16
371	A'	Miṣr	474	23	4.26
*372	A'	Miṣr	478	24	4.20
373	A'	Miṣr	479	22.5	4.09
374	A'	Miṣr	479	24	[4.81]
*375	A'	Miṣr	480	23	4.10 pierced
376	A'	Miṣr	481	22	4.08
*377	A'	Miṣr	482	22	3.88
*378	A'	Miṣr	483	22.5	4.18
379	A'	Miṣr	485	23	4.29
380	A'	Miṣr	486	22	4.06
381	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	431	25	4.16
382	A'	Al-Manṣūriyah	432	25	4.13 pierced

Reference	Description	Collection
Khedivial, 1156.	Different dies.	ANS
Paris, 369.		UM
Paris, 369.	Different dies.	ANS
Paris, 370.		UM
BM IV, 162.	Point over 2nd ث of ث only.	UM
BM IX, 164 <sup>t</sup> .		UM
BM IX, 164 <sup>t</sup> .	Different dies.	UM
BM IV, 165.		UM
Paris, 373.		UM
Khedivial, 1165.		UM
BM IV, 168.		UM
BM IV, 169.		UM
Paris, 374.		UM
[Glendenning, 5/12/48 (not described)]; cf. BM IV, 143.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.		UM
BM IX, 177 <sup>f</sup> .		UM
Cf. BM IV, 143.		UM
Khedivial, 1177.		UM
BM IX, 178 <sup>d</sup> .		UM
Cf. BM IV, 180.		UM
BM IV, 180.		UM
BM IV, 180.	Different dies. Framed and fitted with ring.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 180.		UM
BM IV, 182.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 180.		UM
Cf. Paris, 379.	Similar to the Paris specimen except that ع is present beneath rev. Pos- sibly Lavoix's description is not ac- curate.	UM
Khedivial, 1190.		UM
BM IV, 185.		UM
Bardo, 101.		UM
Bardo, 104.		UM

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No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
*383	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mahdiyyah	455	22	4.10
384	<i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	11 frg.	—
385	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	13	0.88
*386	Billon	Şan'a'	463	17.5	1.94
*387	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah	470	20	1.46
*388	Billon	Mint effaced	x	17	1.58
*389	<i>A'</i>	Mint effaced	x	12	0.77
*390	Billon	Mint effaced	x	13.5	1.30
391- 392	Billon	Mint effaced	x	—	—



Reference	Description	Collection
Differs from BM IV, 166. Cf. BM IV, 143. Cf. BM IV, 140. Cf. Paris, 324.	<p>Obv.: الله لا اله الا</p> <p>Marg.: ضر(?) ... هم بينما سنة ثلث (sic) وستين واربع</p> <p>Rev.: بالله المستنصر (sic)</p> <p>Marg.: ... بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ... Unique occurrence of Ṣan'ā' as a Fātimid mint. For the historical implications cf. Casanova, RN 1894, pp. 201–212, and the articles Ṣan'ā' and Ṣulaiḥiḍs in <i>Encyclopaedia of Islām</i>.</p>	<p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p>
Cf. BM IV, 193. Cf. BM IV, 140.	<p>Obv.: محمد رسول الله على ولي الله</p> <p>Marg.: effaced.</p> <p>Rev.: المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين</p> <p>Marg.: ... معد ...</p> <p>Obv.: Traces of 2-line area and single marginal legends.</p> <p>Rev.: الامام معد</p> <p>Marg.: ... بالله امير المؤمنين ...</p> <p>Unidentifiable except as coins of al-Mustanṣir.</p>	<p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p> <p>ANS</p>

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
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## ABŪ'L-QĀSIM AḤMAD AL-MUŠTA'LI BI'LLĀH

487-495 A.H. = 1094-1101 A.D.

393	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	488	24	3.99
394	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	490	21	4.09
*395	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	493	23	3.91
*396	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	494	21	3.99
397	A'	Şūr	493	22.5	3.91
*398	1/4 A'	'Akkā	488	19	1.10
*399	1/4 A'	'Akkā	493	15	0.78
400	A'	Miṣr	491	22	4.13
401	A'	Miṣr	492	23	4.29
402	A'	Miṣr	493	22	4.21

## ABŪ-'ALĪ AL-MANŞŪR AL-ĀMIR BI-AḤKĀM ALLĀH

495-524 A.H. = 1101-1130 A.D.

*403	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	495	22	4.02
404	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	497	23	4.70
*405	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	498	22.5	4.18
*406	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	499	22	4.17
*407	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	501	22	4.30
408	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	502	24	4.40
409	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	503	22	3.97
410	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	504	23	4.91
411	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	505	22	4.29
412	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	506	22.5	3.84
413	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	506	22.5	4.37
414	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	507	22.5	4.07
*415	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	508	22.5	4.29 pierced
416	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	509	21	3.95
417	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	510	21	4.14
418	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	510	21	3.84
419	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	510	22	4.18
420	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	511	20.5	3.99 ringed
421	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	512	21	4.45
422	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	514	21.5	4.39
423	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	515	21	4.11
424	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	519	21	4.09
425	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	520	21	4.00
426	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	522	20	4.36
*427	A'	Al-Iskandariyah	523	21	4.44

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 410.		UM
Fraehn, Suppl. p. 83.		UM
Cf. BM IX, 193 <sup>t</sup> .		UM
Cf. BM IX, 193 <sup>t</sup> .		UM
RNB 1864, p. 343.		UM
Cf. Paris, 411.	Note size.	ANS
Cf. Paris, 411.		ANS
BM IX, 193 <sup>t</sup> .		UM
Khedivial, 1209.		UM
Khedivial, 1210.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
BM IV, 199.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Soret à Fraehn, 126.		UM
BM IV, 202.		UM
Paris, 412.		UM
Khedivial, 1223.		UM
Khedivial, 1226.		UM
Khedivial, 1226.	Same dies.	ANS
Khedivial, 1229.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Paris, 413.		UM
BM IX, 208 <sup>d</sup> .		UM
BM IX, 208 <sup>d</sup> .	Different dies.	UM
BM IX, 208 <sup>d</sup> .	Same dies as no. 418.	UM
BM IV, 210.		UM
BM IV, 211.		UM
Khedivial, 1249.		UM
BM IV, 215.		UM
Fraehn, Suppl., p. 84.		UM
Milan, CCXXVII.		UM
Paris, 415.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
428	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	524	20	4.28
429	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	524	21	4.43
430	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	524	20	4.33
431	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	502	21	3.86
432	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	509	21	3.62
433	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	509	22.5	4.38
*434	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	510	21	3.62
435	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	514	20	3.65
436	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	515	20	4.25
437	<i>A'</i>	Şūr	516	21	3.70
438	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Ṭarābulus	x	13	0.62
439	<i>A'</i>	‘Asqalān	503	22	4.22
*440	<i>A'</i>	‘Asqalān	505	22	3.87 pierced
441	<i>A'</i>	‘Asqalān	506	22	3.78
442	<i>A'</i>	‘Asqalān	507	22	4.13
*443	<i>A'</i>	‘Asqalān	509	21	4.05
*444	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr ?	496	22	4.28
445	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	497	23	3.88
446	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	498	22	4.30
447	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	499	22	4.14
448	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	500	22	4.05
449	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	501	22	4.35
450	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	502	22	4.32
451	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	502	22	4.21
452	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	503	22	4.14
453	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	503	22	4.37 pierced
454	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	504	22	4.18
455	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	505	22	4.20
456	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	505	22	4.20
457	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	506	22	4.20
458	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	506	22	4.19
459	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	507	22	4.12
460	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	508	22	4.28
461	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	509	21	4.12
462	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	510	21	4.21
463	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	511	20	4.15
464	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	512	20	4.22

Reference	Description	Collection
Khedivial, 1264.		UM
Khedivial, 1264.	Same dies.	UM
Khedivial, 1264.	Different dies.	UM
Khedivial, 1217.		UM
Khedivial, 1239.		UM
Khedivial, 1239.	Same dies.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Khedivial, 1250.		UM
BM IV, 216.		UM
Khedivial, 1256.		UM
Cf. Paris, 416.	The denomination appears to be spelled الرباعا (for الرباعي?), or الرباع, depending upon whether one reads <i>Ṭarābulus</i> or <i>Aṭarābulus</i> . Cf. Khedivial, p. 190, footnote.	ANS
BM IV, 203.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Khedivial, 1227.		UM
Paris, 417.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Khedivial, 1213.		UM
Paris, 419.		UM
BM IX, 199 <sup>p</sup> .		UM
BM IV, 200.		UM
BM IV, 201.		UM
Paris, 420.		UM
Paris, 420.	Different dies.	ANS
Paris, 421.		UM
Paris, 421.	Different rev. die.	ANS
BM IV, 204.		UM
BM IV, 205.	Fine engraving, in contrast to BM.	UM
BM IV, 205.	Fine engraving; different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 206.		UM
BM IV, 206.	Different dies.	ANS
BM IV, 206a.		UM
BM IV, 207.		UM
Khedivial, 1234.		UM
BM IV, 208.		UM
BM IV, 209.		UM
Khedivial, 1244.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
465	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	513	20	4.23
466	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	514	20	3.93
467	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	515	20	4.04
468	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	516	20	4.05 pierced
469	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	517	22	3.81
*470	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	518	20	4.34
*471	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	521	20	3.86
*472	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	522	21	4.56
473	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	523	20	4.21
474	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	524	20	4.16
475	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah	518	21	4.23
*476	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah	519	20	4.26
477	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah	520	20.5	4.24
478	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah	521	21	4.20
*479	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah	523	20	4.15
480	Billon	Mint effaced	x	11	—

## INTERREGNUM

481	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	525	21.5	4.05
482	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	525	21	4.15
*483	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	525	20	4.10 pierced
484	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	526	20	4.27

## ABŪ'L-MAYMŪN 'ABD AL-MAJĪD AL-ḤAFĪZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH

526-544 A.H. = 1131-1149 A.D.

485	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	526	21	3.76
*486	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	528	22	4.39
487	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	531	22	4.64
*488	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	534	22	4.49
489	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	535	21	4.17
*490	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	539	22.5	4.72

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 426.		UM
BM IV, 213.		UM
Paris, 429.		UM
BM IV, 217.		UM
BM IV, 221.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Khedivial, 1262.		UM
Khedivial, 1263.		UM
Paris, 434.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Khedivial, 1260.		UM
Khedivial, 1261.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 197.		UM
Cf. Paris, 438.	Outer margins, if any, off flan.	ANS
Paris, 439.		UM
Paris, 439.	Same dies.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 228.		UM
BM IV, 230.		UM
Khedivial, 1269.	Al-Ḥāfiẓ as heir apparent.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 236.		UM
Zambaur, Contributions, II, 275.		UM
NZ 1876, p. 75, no. 114 (not described); cf. BM IV, 231.		UM
BM IV, 231.		UM
Schulman, Nov. 1907, no. 906 (not described); cf. BM IV, 231.		ANS

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
491	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandarīyah	541	22	4.26
492	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandarīyah	542	21.5	4.41
493	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandarīyah	544	21	4.54
*494	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	526	20	4.21
*495	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	527	20.5	3.86
496	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	528	22	4.20
*497	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	529	20.5	4.36
*498	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	529	21	3.93
*499	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	529	21	3.98
*500	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	530	21	4.24
*501	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	531	22	4.00
*502	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	532	22	4.20
*503	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	534	21	3.88
*504	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	534	21	4.06
*505	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	535	21.5	4.38
*506	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	536	22	4.43
*507	1/4 <i>A'</i>	Miṣr	536	17	0.95
508	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	537	22	4.41
509	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	538	21	4.31
*510	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	539	21	3.89 pierced
*511	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	540	20	4.34
512	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	542	22	4.17



Reference	Description	Collection
BM IV, 233.		UM
Khedivial, 1277.		UM
BM IV, 235		UM
	Obv. similar to BM IV, 231.	UM
	Rev.: عبد الله وولي	
	Inner marg.: عبد المجيد الحافظ لدين الله امير المؤمنين	
	Outer marg.: mint-date (with <i>al-rahmān al-rahīm</i> ).	
	Similar to no. 494 except date.	UM
Khedivial, 1271.		UM
Differs from Khedivial, 1273. Cf. BM IV, 236.		UM
As above.	Different dies.	ANS
As above.	Same rev. die as no. 498.	ANS
Cf. BM IV, 236.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 236.		UM
	Obv. as BM IV, 197, but <i>عالم فاية</i> on one line. Rev. similar to BM IV, 231, except mint and date.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.	Different dies.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.		UM
Differs from Khedivial, 1275. Cf. BM IV, 231. (Perhaps similar to Mar- kov, p. 354, no. 125, or Zia, 2006).		UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.	Mint-date formula lacks <i>al-rahmān al-rahīm</i> .	ANS
BM IV, 232.		UM
Paris, 441.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 231.		UM
Paris, 443.		UM

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Di.	Weight
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## ABŪ'L-MANŞŪR ISMĀ'IL AL-ZĀFIR BI-AMRI'LLĀH

544-549 A.H. = 1149-1154 A.D.

513	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	545	20	4.14
514	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	546	19.5	3.63
*515	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	547	21	4.36
*516	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	547	20	3.71 pierced
*517	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	547	21	
*518	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	548	20	4.13
*519	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	545	19.5	4.17
*520	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	546	20.5	4.06
*521	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	548	21.5	3.54
					4.47

## ABŪ'L-QĀSIM 'ISĀ AL-FĀ'IZ BI-NAṢRI'LLĀH

549-555 A.H. = 1154-1160 A.D.

522	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	549	20	4.23
*523	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	551	20.5	[4.79]
524	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	552	20.5	4.05

## ABŪ-MUḤAMMAD 'ABDULLĀH AL-'ĀDID LI-DĪN ALLĀH

555-567 A.H. = 1160-1171 A.D.

*525	<i>A'</i>	Al-Iskandariyah	563	20	3.91
*526	<i>A'</i>	Miṣr	556	22	4.14
527	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izziyah al-Qāhirah	565	21.5	4.62
*528	<i>A'</i>	Al-Mu'izziyah al-Qāhirah	566	20.5	4.25
529-	Æ	Mint effaced	x	—	—
530					
531-	Æ	Mint effaced	x	—	—
532					
533-	<i>A'</i>	x	x	—	—
535					
536-	Billon	x	x	—	—
537					

Reference	Description	Collection
Paris, 445 (note the error in transcribing the <i>shahadah</i> ).		UM
Markov, p. 985, no. 128 (not described); cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.	Same dies. Different dies.	UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.		ANS
Cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Cf. BM IV, 237.		UM
Khedivial, 1280. Cf. BM IV, 238. Paris, 447.	Framed and fitted with ring.	UM UM UM
Cf. BM IV, 241. Cf. BM IV, 241. Khedivial, 1284.		UM UM UM
Cf. BM IV, 242.		UM
	Unidentifiable except as Fāṭimid.	ANS
	Unidentifiable except as Fāṭimid.	ANS
	Imitations.	ANS
	Imitations.	ANS

## Fatimid Mints and Known Dates of Issue

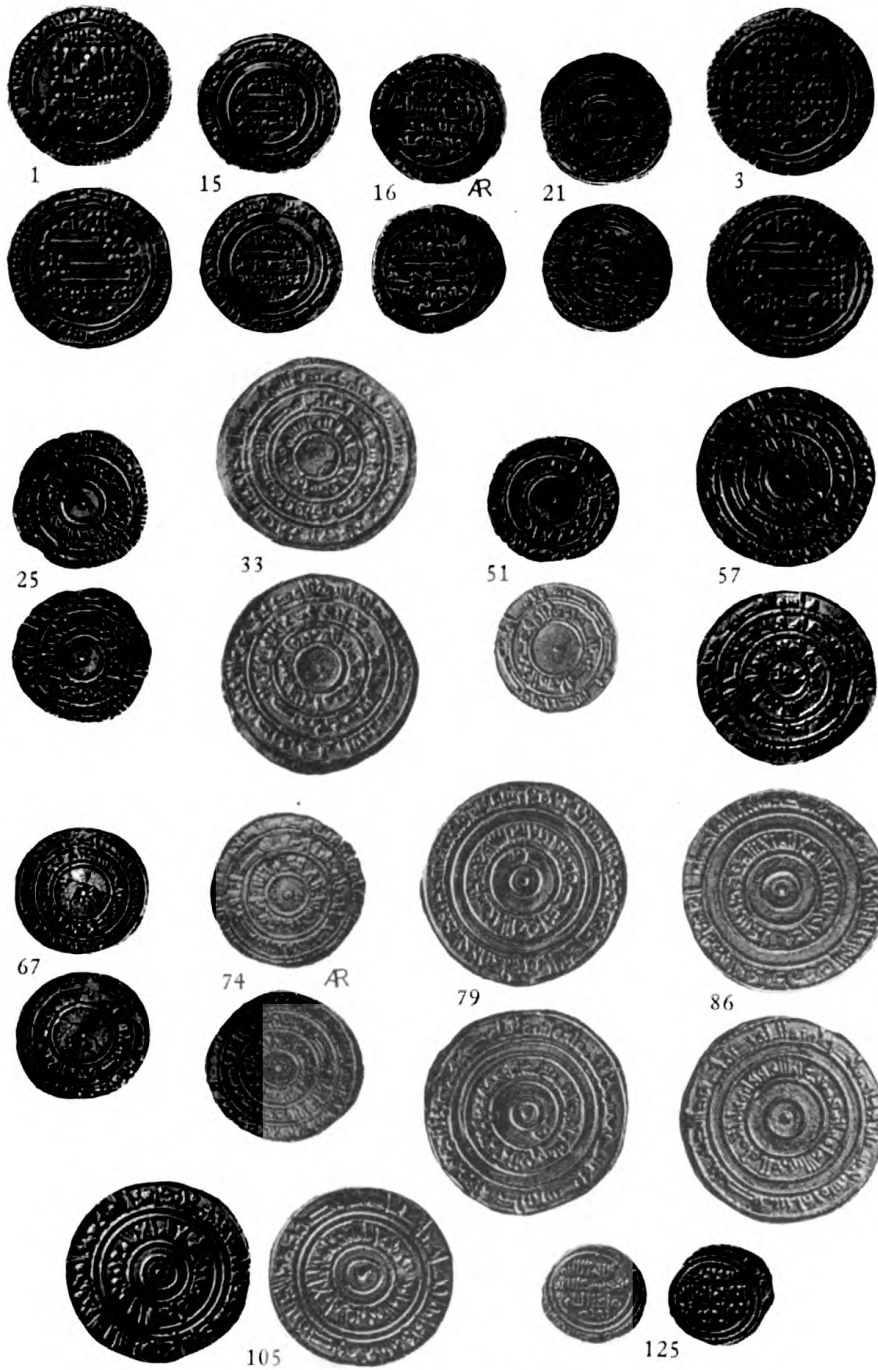
- الاسكندرية Al-Iskandarīyah (Alexandria): 435-436, 438, 450, 463, 465, 467-488, 490, 491, 493-499, 501-515, 517, 519-520, 522-526, 528, 530, 531, 534-535, 539, 541, 543-549, 552, 555, 563.
- اسكندرية مصر Iskandarīyah Miṣr (Alexandria of Egypt)?: 337.
- أيلة Aylah ('Aqabah): 314, 514.
- حلب Ḥalab (Aleppo): 429, 442, 444-446, 452.
- دمشق Dimishq (Damascus): 368, 380, 388, 395, 399, 404, 437, 441, 444, 446-447, 454, 459.
- زبد Zabīd (in Yaman): 445, 447, 451.
- زويلة Zawilah (near al-Mahdiyyah): 414.
- صبرة Ṣabrah (= al-Manṣūriyah): 439-440.
- صقلية Ṣiqilliyah (Sicily, i.e. Palermo): 337-339, 341-346, 353, 356, 361, 363, 366-367, 369, 374, 377, 380-381, 390, 393-396, 398, 401-402, 404-405, 407-408, 412-414, 417-438, 442, 444-446, 448, 451, 455-456.
- صنعاء Ṣan'ā' (in Yaman): 463.
- صور Ṣūr (Tyre): 361, 404, 408, 415-416, 423-424, 430, 434-439, 441-444, 446-447, 450, 452-456, 461, 468, 481, 483-484, 493, 496, 502, 507, 509-512, 514-516.
- طبرية Ṭabarīyah (Tiberias): 395, 436, 439, 447, 460.
- طرابلس Ṭarābulus (Tripoli in Syria): 364-365, 367, 379, 394, 408, 410, 431, 433, 435-453, 455, 456, 463-465, 471, 475, 495.
- طرابلس Ṭarābulus (Tripoli in Tripolitania): 370, 374, 415, 425.
- عكا 'Akkā (Acre): 462-463, 466, 472-474, 484, 487, 488, 490, 493, 495.
- عسقلان 'Asqalān (Ascalon): 503, 505-507, 509-510.
- فاس Fās (Fez): 348, 369.
- فلسطين Filastīn (Palestine, i.e. Ramla): 359, 363-365, 367-371, 373, 375-376, 378, 383, 389, 399, 404, 412, 420, 423-424, 428, 435-436, 438-440, 442-445, 447, 449, 455, 459.
- القاهرة المحروسة Al-Qāhirah al Maḥrūsah (Cairo): 394.
- القيروان Al-Qayrawān (Kairouan in Tunisia): 296-297, 299-301, 303-306, 308, 331, 333, 335.

- المحمدية Al-Muḥammadiyah (= Masīlah, M'sila, in Algeria): 320.  
 مدينة رسول الله Madīnat Rasūl Allāh (= Medina): 453.  
 مدينة السلام Madīnat al-Salām (= Baghdad): 450.  
 مدينة قوص Madīnat Qūṣ (Kos in Egypt): 517/9.  
 مدينة ... محمد Madīnat .... Muḥammad (?): 500.  
 مصر Miṣr (Cairo-Fuṣṭāṭ): 341, 343, 353, 358-401, 403-467,  
 469-470, 472-476, 478-486, 488, 490-546, 548-556, 558,  
 560-561.  
 المعزية Al-Mu'izzīyah (= Cairo?): 356, 362, 470, 564.  
 المعزية القاهرة Al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah (= Cairo): 518-521, 523, 525,  
 555, 559, 564-566.  
 مكة Makkah (Mecca): 366.  
 المنصورية Al-Manṣūriyah (near al-Qayrawān): 338-348, 351-371,  
 375-387, 395, 400, 402, 404-405, 408, 410-412, 414, 416-438.  
 المهديّة Al-Mahdiyyah (in Tunisia): 311-312, 314-318, 320-321,  
 323-324, 326-341, 343, 349, 353, 356-357, 360-384, 386,  
 388, 390, 392-393, 395-396, 399, 401-402, 404-405,  
 407-408, 411-412, 414-415, 417?, 419-420, 422, 426-427,  
 429, 436-437, 447, 449, 453-455, 457, 459, 480?  
 "No Mint" (not "mint effaced," but no name): 297, 301, 311?, 314,  
 316-318, 321-322, 325-328, 346, 347, 352, 354, 356, 357,  
 360-361, 365, 380, 514, 516.



FĀTIMID COINS

PLATE I



1, 3: Al-Mahdi 15, 16: Al-Manṣūr 21-74: Al-Mu'izz  
79-105: Al-'Azīz 125: Al-Ḥākīm

FĀTIMID COINS

PLATE II



126-185: Al-Ḥākim 193-234: Al-Zāhir



FĀTIMID COINS

PLATE III



245-254: Al-Zāhir 259-302: Al-Mustaṣṣir

FĀṬIMID COINS

PLATE IV



311



314



318



332



343



350



365



369



377



383



386



387



AR

Billon

Al-Mustanşir

FĀTIMID COINS

PLATE V



396, 398: Al-Musta'li 403-476: Al-Āmir  
483: Interregnum

FĀTIMID COINS

PLATE VI



488-511: Al-Ḥāfiẓ 515, 520: Al-Zāfir  
522: Al-Fā'iz 526: Al-'Āḍid



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